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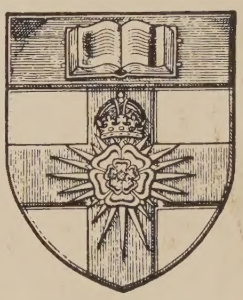

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

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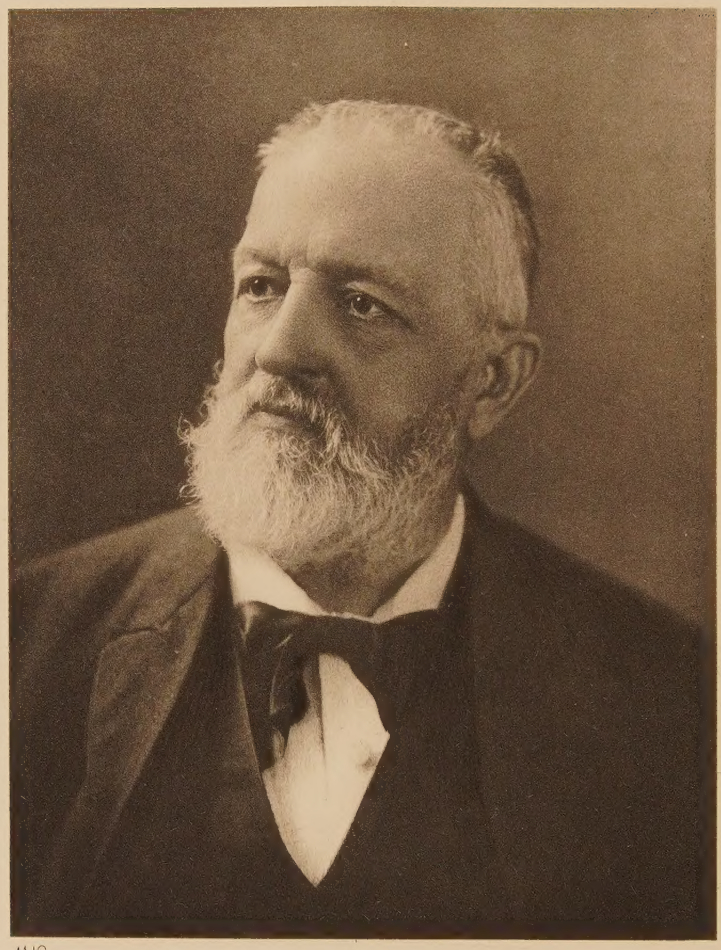

MHS

Samuel A. Green

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER, 1920—JUNE, 1921

VOLUME LIV

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund

Boston
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
MDCCCCXXII

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1877.

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1895.

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1896.

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1898.

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1912.

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1913.

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1919.

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1920.

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1896.

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1899.

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1904.

Adolf Harnack, D.D.
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1905.

Ernest Lavisse.

1910.

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1919.

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1921.

Gabriel Hanotaux.

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1878.

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1897.

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1898.

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1900.

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1903.

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1904.

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1905.

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1906.

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1910

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1917.

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1918.

Frederick Scott Oliver.

1919.

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Max Farrand, Ph.D.
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Rt. Hon. Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher, LL.D.
George Lincoln Burr, LL.D.

1920.

Edwin Francis Gay, LL.D.
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Hon.David Jayne Hill, LL.D.
Godfrey Rathbone Benson, Lord Charnwood, M.A.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

July, 1920—June, 1921.

Resident.

1893, Barrett Wendell	Feb.	8, 1921.
1895, Thomas Jefferson Coolidge	Nov.	17, 1920.
1899, Charles Pickering Bowditch	June	1, 1921.
1900, Melville Madison Bigelow	May	4, 1921.

Corresponding.

1879, Franklin Bowditch Dexter	Aug.	13, 1920.
1907, James Phinney Baxter	May	8, 1921.

MEMBERSHIP CEASED.

Resident.

1911, Justin Harvey Smith[1]	Oct.	14, 1920.

TRANSFER.

Corresponding.

1905, Gabriel Hanotaux[2]	Feb.	10, 1921.

[1] By resignation.

[2] By transfer to the Honorary roll.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1920.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported:

The deposit by Mrs. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., of two Bibles long associated with the Winthrop family. One is a copy of the second edition of King James' version, London, 1614, preceded by the "Book of Common Prayer, with the Psalter and Psalmes of David," London, 1615. The New Testament bears the imprint, London, 1615, and is followed by "Two Right Profitable and Frvitfvll Concordances," Collected by R. F. H[erry], London, 1619, with the colophon of the second part, London, 1620; and "The Whole Booke of Psalmes. Collected into English Meeter, by Thomas Sternhold, John Hopkins, and others, conferred with the Hebrew, with apt Notes to sing them withall. Set forth and allowed to bee Sung in all Churches," London, 1618. This volume was owned by Adam Winthrop, father of Governor John Winthrop, and has entries in his handwriting. It was brought to New England by the Governor in the *Arbella*, 1630, and remained in the possession of his son Adam and his descendants until 1825, when it disappeared at the death of Hon. William Winthrop, of Cambridge, who died unmarried. It was later found in the collection of Rev. Jonathan Homer, of Newton, at whose death it was purchased by George Livermore, and from him it passed to Robert C. Winthrop. The ownership of the second Bible has been traced back to John Winthrop, F.R.S. It was printed at Oxford, the Old Testament in 1680, and the New Testament in 1682. Mr. Winthrop, Jr., from whose notes the information here given is gathered, wrote in 1899 that the Bible "has always been known as

'The Silver Bible.' Mr. Livermore valued it very highly, and my father attached so much importance to it that it is one of the things which in his will are constituted heir-looms." Of the silver cover Mr. Winthrop, Jr., wrote that it is "apparently of Dutch make and representing scenes in the life of Esther. It was probably originally executed for a missal, perhaps for some distinguished lady whose Christian name was Esther. This cover has been much admired by experts, some of whom have gone so far as to attribute it to Benvenuto Cellini."

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., by deposit, a large bowl brought over to New England by Governor John Winthrop in 1630, in the *Arbella;* and a long bamboo cane, without joint, given by James Bowdoin in 1778 to George Washington, which was returned by his widow to the family of the donor, and then descended to Capt. James Temple Bowdoin of the 4th Regiment of Dragoon Guards in the British Army who gave it to his cousin Robert C. Winthrop in 1844.

From Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, a group of engraved portraits of members of the Senate in the Fifty-eighth Congress, copyrighted in 1905 by William Ten Eyck Hardenbrook.

From Gen. Francis Henry Appleton, an impression in wax of the seal of the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture made from a wax impression on the Society's diploma of membership, given to Daniel Webster, in its possession; and a photograph of both faces of the Medal of the Society in 1802, the original dies of which were probably lost in the great fire of 1872.

From George Peabody Wetmore, an engraving of Joseph Story by John Cheney after a crayon drawing by William Wetmore Story now in the possession of Edward Gray of Milton.

From William Clifford French, oil portraits of Stillman Willis and his wife Mahala Willis, painted about 1860.

From William Power Wilson, by deposit, oil portraits of Andrew Pepperrell, brother of Sir William Pepperrell, and of his wife Jane Elliot Pepperrell.

From Miss Mary Silsbee Emilio, of Salem, in memory of her brother, Luis Fenollosa Emilio, a photograph of Robert Gould Shaw; one of the veterans of the 54th regiment Massachusetts Infantry at the Shaw Memorial dedication, Boston, May 31, 1897; a medal designed for the members, and a collection of photographs relating to the 54th Regiment and to the Civil War.

From Miss Mary Woodman, of Cambridge, a watch chain worn

by Gov. John Albion Andrew at the time of his death and given by Mrs. Andrew to Mr. Cyrus Woodman; a painting, by Alfred Ordway, of Governor Andrew's birthplace at Windham, Maine; a lithograph of Governor Andrew by John H. Bufford, daguerreotypes of Christopher Gore Ripley, Daniel Webster, and Stuart's head of Washington; a photograph of a portrait of Alexander Longfellow, brother of the poet; and an engraving of Daniel Webster, copyrighted by Edward Anthony in 1848.

From Edward T. Stuart, of Philadelphia, by deposit, a number of daguerreotypes of the families of the late Edward Silas Tobey, his grandfather, and of Phineas Sprague, his great-grandfather; of Rev. John Waddington; and of Daniel Webster.

From Charles Torrey, of Brookline, two photographs of paintings by Robert Salmon, the originals of which are in the Boston Public Library: a view of Boston from Pemberton Hill looking toward State Street; and of the burning of the old State House.

From Charles P. Greenough, seventeen colonial notes, and notes of dead banks.

From Boston College, a gold medal of the Fulton Debating Society.

From Maurice Douglas Flattery, of Brookline, a bronze medal "Given for a Discovery in Science of great benefit to Health" by Harvard University under the terms of gift by Mr. Flattery to the University.

From Miss Susie Z. Preble, and Gideon M. Mansfield, silver half-dollar pieces to commemorate the Maine Centennial, 1820–1920.

From Frank Wood, of New Bedford, several pieces of United States Continental currency, 1775–1778.

From Mrs. William Lloyd Garrison, of Brookline, a bust, in plaster, of William Lloyd Garrison (1804–1879).

From Arthur Lord, a Pilgrim Tercentenary half-dollar.

By purchase: an oil portrait by Copley of Elizabeth Oliver (1738–1820), of Boston, who married Edward Lyde March 18, 1772; and four photographs of paintings by Robert Salmon, the ship *Pico*, a landscape, 1824, Swallow's Cove, Nahant, 1839, and "Capture of a French Ship by the *Constitution*."

By exchange: a bronze medallion of Abraham Lincoln, cast by the Metallic Compress Casting Company of Boston; 252 Medals of Washington, making the Society's collection of these medals number 740 pieces, one of the most conspicuous collections of such medals extant; and 200 bills of Confederate States money which increase the Society's collection of these bills to 680 varieties.

On the Copley portrait of Elizabeth (Oliver) Lyde, Mr. Lawrence Park submitted the following note:

The subject was a member of a very important and influential Boston family and closely related by ties of blood and marriage to many persons of local note and worth in both public and private life. Born in Boston 7 March, 1738, she was the daughter of Lieut.-Governor Andrew Oliver by his second wife Mary Sanford. Her mother was a sister of Governor Hutchinson's wife, her uncle Peter Oliver was Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, her paternal grandmother was a sister of Governor Belcher, her half-brother Andrew married a daughter of chief justice Benjamin Lynde, her older sister married Brigadier-General Samuel Waldo and her younger sister was the wife of Governor Hutchinson's son Thomas. Miss Oliver belonged to what may be called a portrait family. One of the few authenticated works of Nathaniel Emmons, the earliest known native American artist, shows her father as a youngish man and at about the same age he was painted with his brothers Daniel and Peter, on one canvas, which forms one of Smibert's most important works. Smibert also painted excellent portraits of her grandparents Daniel Oliver and his wife Elizabeth Belcher. Her father and mother in later life were painted by Copley, who also painted her uncle Peter and her half-brother Andrew Oliver. The latter and his wife in 1756 were both painted by Joseph Blackburn, and all of these portraits are still in the possession of different members of the Oliver family. A full length portrait of Miss Oliver's brother-in-law, Samuel Waldo, painted by Robert Feke is in the possession of Bowdoin College, where it is attributed to the brush of Smibert.

On 15 October 1772 Miss Oliver became the second wife of Edward Lyde a Boston merchant, by whom she had in the following year a son who survived until 1831 and as a boy of eleven years was painted in London by Mather Brown a picture which mysteriously disappeared in 1829. In 1779 the real estate of "Edward Lyde of Boston absentee" was appraised by John Winniett, Jacob Wendell and Jacob Cooper which included his "Mansion House Barn and Land in seven starr Lane near Trinity Church" but Lyde and his wife and son had three years before left Boston for London with the general Tory exodus, and the son was placed in school in Birmingham.

His parents soon returned to America and settled in New York, where within a few years they were joined by the son who married there in 1799 and passed the remainder of his life there. Mrs. Lyde is said to have died in 1820.

Copley's portrait of Miss Oliver shows her with her head turned slightly towards the right with her brown eyes directed to the spectator. She wears a low cut gown of brownish-pink, the neck trimmed with a narrow muslin ruffle. Her dark brown hair, in which a string of small pearls is entwined, is brushed back from her forehead and a curl falls upon each shoulder. The picture, which measures seventeen inches in height by ten inches in width, although not in good condition, could be easily restored and much brightened by the removal of successive coats of varnish.

I should put the date of the painting of the portrait not later than 1760 when Copley was twenty-three and the subject twenty-two years of age.

The Editor reported the following accessions of manuscripts:

From Miss Mary Woodman, a collection of letters to and from Horatio Woodman, her uncle, who was prominent in the Saturday Club of Boston, a frequent contributor to the *Transcript*, and active in military matters during the civil war. These letters, several hundred in number, are of high literary and political interest, for among his correspondents were Emerson, Lowell, Holmes, Rufus Choate, Governor Andrew, Richard Grant White, Secretary Stanton, R. H. Dana, Jr., the two Sumners, Charles and George, Dr. Howe, Paul H. Hayne, Count Gurowski and J. M. Forbes, a selection of names sufficient to show his catholic tastes. In Dr. Emerson's *Early Years of the Saturday Evening Club* there is a sketch and portrait of Woodman. The letters were preserved by his brother, Cyrus Woodman, father of the donor.

From John Thomas, of Boston, one hundred and forty three letters of Daniel Webster, written to his father, Charles Henry Thomas, of Marshfield, who managed for many years Webster's property in that place. These letters, entirely unpublished, show the statesman as a farmer and fisherman, carefully planning to develop his farm by improving the land, planting trees and raising cattle, and prove the minute attention he gave to all that concerned the agricultural possibilities of the place.

From Courtenay Crocker, for the survivors of the Executive Committee (Moorfield Storey and William Butler Clarke), the

records of the "Young Men's Republican Committee," 1877–1881. Intended to interest young men in the discussion of public questions, the Committee issued a "Broadside," and was active on the side of sound money and civil service reform, as well as thorough and practical reform in principles and methods of politics. It opposed Butler's candidacy for governor and was against Grant and Blaine in 1880 for the presidency, favoring Senator Edmunds.

From Frederick Cheever Shattuck the ancestral charts of George Cheyne Shattuck, prepared on a plan devised by Lemuel Shattuck, and published in 1841.

From Wilder Dwight, in memory of Mrs. Horace Mann (Mary T. Peabody) and of his grandmother Mrs. William Dwight (Eliza A. White), twelve letters from Miss White to Miss Peabody, 1827–1835.

From Susan Thayer Hooper (Mrs. Isaac Harris Hooper), an account of an escape from Libby Prison in 1863, written by her husband, in 1869, when in Honolulu in search of health. Mr. Hooper was of the 15th Mass. Regiment.

From Miss Mary Silsbee Emilio, in memory of her brother Luis Fenollosa Emilio, four volumes of papers relating to the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, 1863–1865. This regiment was commanded in 1863 by Col. Robert Gould Shaw and Emilio was a captain (Co. E). Personal papers carry the record to 1902. The material was gathered for a history of the regiment.

From George R. Harlow, of Philadelphia, papers of the Bordman and Harlow families, of Cambridge, Mass., chiefly relating to lands, with a number of maps and plans.

From George Leander Shepley, of Providence, a photostat copy of a policy of marine insurance issued, March 21, 1750, on the *Statia*, Thomas Waterman, master, from Surinam to Providence.

From Col. James Lung Bevans, of Carlisle Barracks, Penn., a typewritten copy of "A family Account Book," of James Haney Bevans, 1763–1811. It contains some genealogical records of interest.

From Howard Millar Chapin, of Providence, three deeds and one will of the Guild family of Dedham and Attleborough.

From Mrs. Bradley Gilman, a court summons dated August 24, 1750, in the case of Timothy Nash against Elisha Harding, of Brookfield.

On deposit: By William Bacon Revere, of Canton, two account books kept by Paul Revere, silversmith, 1761–1797, containing a list of all work done by him or under his direction in that period. These books are a history of his production, both as a silversmith and an

engraver, and throw light upon a number of questions of interest, such as the maker of illustrations in the newspapers and almanacs of the time, a date of a Copley portrait and plates for merchants in Boston. It stands as a unique record. Also a letter of Benedict Arnold to Revere, March 1, 1777, about sword knot, sash, epaulets and a dozen silk hose, and Revere's own account of his ride of April, 1775.

By Edward T. Stuart, of Philadelphia, eight volumes of papers of his grandfather, Edward Silas Tobey of Boston (1813–1891). They also contain letters of Phineas and Seth Sprague, a prominent shipping house, and cover many subjects, mercantile, social and political. Mr. Tobey was postmaster at Boston, and was president of the American Steamship Company (1863), of the Boston Board of Trade (1860–1863) and was prominent in the United States Christian Commission in the War of Secession and in many philanthropic undertakings.

By purchase: Interleaved almanacs, with diary records, of Dr. Aaron Wight, of Medway, 1769–1826.

Miscellaneous papers of English origin relating to the British Colonies in America, 1702–1799. Estimates of army charges, 1763–1764, and a letter of Miranda, 1799, may be noted.

A number of letters, 1783–1798, addressed to Nicholas Pike, compiler of an arithmetic, once much esteemed. Among the writers are Jeremy Belknap, Ezra Stiles, J. Wheelock, Jedidiah Morse, James Bowdoin, Joseph Willard, and John Sullivan.

Elihu Root, of New York, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. Dowse spoke as follows:

I have enjoyed the rather unique experience of acting as Deputy Governor of the Commonwealth at the Pilgrim 1620–1920 celebration in Holland and England. This office was given to me by his Excellency Governor Calvin Coolidge early in the spring of this year.

There was a function at Southampton, England, on the 24th of July, 1920, at which the mayor of Southampton presided. Addresses were given by the Lord Chancellor of England, Lord Birkenhead, the American Embassador's representative, Mr. Butler Wright, and others. The celebration in Holland began on August 28th with a reception by the Queen, at Het Loo, her summer palace.

Sunday the 29th religious services were held at the John Robinson house in Leyden. On Monday the 30th the University of Leyden received the Congress in its great Hall and a welcome was given by the Rector Magnificus of the University and Prof. Van Nes, Vice President, the Ministers of Foreign Affairs and of Education of Holland. This was replied to by myself as Deputy Governor, and Prof. Rendel Harris, a Doctor of Leyden University, of Manchester, England. After this each day was occupied, 'till September 2, by meetings of the Pilgrim Fathers' Congress, with luncheons, dinners, and excursions. The last excursion was over the canal on which the Pilgrims of 1620 went on their trip from Leyden to Delftshaven, when they took the *Speedwell* for Southampton.

The whole celebration in Holland was in extremely good taste and marked with great dignity and generous hospitality. While in Holland I was the guest of the Burgomaster of Leyden, Jhr. Dr. N. C. de Gijselaar, an appointee of the Queen, a graduate of the Leyden University, a scholar, a great student of history — one of the old nobility — a man of great executive ability, who has the complete control of all city affairs, even to the appointment of all police. The system answered the question of how to govern a city, and get absolutely the best results.

In Plymouth, England, the celebration began on September 2d with a reception by the Mayor, in the Guild Hall. Sunday following we attended service in St. Andrew's Church, some eight hundred years old, when Bishop Brewster of Connecticut preached the sermon. On Monday a luncheon was given by the English speaking Union, exercises at the Barbicon from whence the *Mayflower* sailed, and a procession from the Barbicon to the Hoe in which fifty thousand people took part. At night a dinner was given in the Guild Hall by the Corporation of Plymouth, at which Lord Reading, the Lord Chief Justice of England, and Mr. Butler Wright of the American Legation spoke. This was followed by functions of all kinds, up to and including September 11. These consisted of motor excursions to various Abbeys, Castles and old towns, a visit to the navy and dockyards, rides on war-ships, garden parties, a swimming gala and regatta. During all this time there were meetings of the Pilgrim Fathers' Congress for serious addresses.

A most elaborate Mayflower pageant was given in a large drillhall. This was given twice a day for two weeks and was then taken to various cities in England.

I should not omit to mention that Plymouth is represented in Parliament by Sir Arthur Shirley Benn and Lady Astor. Sir Arthur Benn lived in Alabama fifteen years and married an American lady, born in New Orleans. He is a fine type of a gentleman, with a cosmopolitan experience. Lady Astor was formerly a Virginia girl, a Miss Langhorne. She married a Boston man and lived in Boston for some time. She has the greatest admiration and love for Boston. She is the only lady member of Parliament and took her husband's place after a hard fought contest. She is a great beauty and a ready and fine speaker. During these festivities she occupied the Castle of the fourth Earl of Morley, near Plymouth, and exercised a generous and democratic hospitality. She is a strict prohibitionist, in talk and conduct. She gave a garden party, on Lord Morley's place, which was marked for its democratic hospitality and by her interest in wounded soldiers.

Mr. BOWDITCH spoke of Mr. Bradford's study of James G. Blaine, published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1920, and gave some additional notes on the subject.

Mr. FORD related how he had been instrumental in having letters of John Eliot sent to the United States, and traced their course into the possession of the late Theodore N. Vail, who printed them in a volume under the editorship of Wilberforce Eames.

Mr. MORISON presented a paper on

BOSTON TRADERS IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS, 1789–1823.

On October 15, 1819, there was an interesting ceremony in the vestry of Park Street Church, Boston. A company of seven missionaries with their wives and children, and with three "natives of Owhyhee" were "formed into a Church of Christ," to go out and convert the heathen of the "Sandwich Islands." The next morning, at a special meeting in the same house of worship, Hopu, the most hopeful of the Hawaiians, addressed a crowded assembly. "It was a most affecting spectacle to see a native of Owhyhee preaching the gospel to the

citizens of Boston." So great was the interest in this missionary enterprise of the Orthodox New England Church, that over five hundred persons received Holy Communion at a farewell service the following Sabbath. On Saturday morning, October 23, the final farewell took place at Long Wharf, crowded with sympathetic spectators. The Rev. Dr. Worcester offered up a prayer, Hopu delivered another speech, and all united in singing "Blest be the tie that binds" and "When shall we all meet again?" A barge from the U. S. S. *Independence* conveyed the missionaries to a vessel chartered for the voyage by the American Board, the brig *Thaddeus* of Boston; which in a short time weighed anchor and dropped down the stream to Boston Light.[1]

Over five months elapsed before this Hawaiian *Mayflower* raised the snow-crowned summit of Mauna Loa. On April 4, 1820, one hundred and sixty-three days out from Boston, the *Thaddeus* came to anchor abreast the "large heathen village" of Kailua, where a multitude of "shouting and almost naked natives," including the King and Queens, were playing on the beach and sporting in the surf. A bright and pleasing spectacle, we would think: but to the missionaries it merely "exhibited the appalling darkness of the land which we had come to enlighten." Later in the day, the royal family was entertained at dinner on the brig's quarter-deck. King Liholiho, dressed in a feather wreath, a string of beads and a loin-cloth, made his first acquaintance with white women; and George Tamoree, a graceless native member of the missionary contingent, furnished music for the meal on an orthodox bass viol.[2]

Thus began the first Christian mission[3] in Hawaii, the centenary of which is being celebrated this year. 1820 is to Hawaii what 1620 is to New England. Yet we must not forget the precursors to the Pilgrims. Here, as in New France, New Spain and New England, the trader had preceded the mission-

[1] Boston *Recorder*, October 25 and 30, 1819, pp. 175, 179. The *Thaddeus* was 85½ feet long, 24½ feet beam and of 241 tons burthen.

[2] Hiram Bingham, *A residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands* (1849), 69, 85.

[3] The Catholic chaplain of the Royal French corvette *L'Uranie*, which put in at Hawaii for a few days in August, 1819, baptized a few natives; but I suppose this would hardly constitute a mission. James Jackson Jarvis, *History of the Hawaiian Islands* (1843), 216.

ary. For a generation previous to 1820 the scorbutic, storm-tossed seamen of New England had found rest, healing and even profit in these Islands of the Blest.

When independence closed our colonial trade routes within the British empire, the merchantmen and whalers of New England swarmed around the Horn, in search of new markets and sources of supply. The opening of the China trade was the first and most spectacular result of this enterprise; the establishment of trading relations with Hawaii followed shortly. Years before the westward land movement gathered momentum, the energies of seafaring New England found their natural outlet, along their traditional pathway, in the Pacific Ocean.

Probably the first American vessel to touch at Hawaii was the famous *Columbia* of Boston, Capt. Robert Gray, on August 24, 1789, in the course of her first voyage around the world. She remained twenty-four days at the Islands, salted down five puncheons of pork, and sailed with one hundred and fifty live hogs on deck.[1] A young native called Attoo, who shipped there as ordinary seaman, attracted much attention at Boston, on the *Columbia's* return, by his gorgeous feather cloak and helmet. Attoo was the first of several young Hawaiians who, arriving in New England as seamen on merchant vessels, influenced the American Board of Foreign Missions to found the Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut, which was the origin of the famous mission of 1819–20. Other Kanakas — as they were called this early — did not reach so pious a destination. A native boy whom Capt. Amasa Delano shipped from Hawaii in 1801, performed on the Boston stage in the "Tragedy of Captain Cook," "and was much admired by the audience and the publick in general."[2]

The Boston traders who followed the *Columbia* to the Northwest Coast and Canton, found "The Islands," as they called

[1] Ship *Columbia* MSS., Massachusetts Historical Society, f. 18; Boston *Columbian Centinel*, August 11, 1790. Possibly the snow *Eleanor* or *Eleonora* of New York, Captain Metcalf, touched at Hawaii before the *Columbia*, but I think not. (J. J. Jarvis, *op. cit.* 147, says she came in the "autumn"; Hiram Bingham, *op. cit.* 39, says "near the close" of 1789.) Captain Metcalf stirred up a hornet's nest by his high-handed dealings with the natives, who in revenge, killed his son, master of the *Fair American*. James F. Hunnewell, *Bibliography of the Hawaiian Islands*, 15, is obviously in error when he states that "in 1790 . . . the first American ship, the *Eleanor* . . . visited the Islands."

[2] Amasa Delano, *Voyages* (Boston, 1817), 398.

the Hawaiian group, an ideal place to procure fresh provisions, in the course of their three-year voyages. Capt. Joseph Ingraham stopped there in the *Hope*, of Boston, in May, 1792.[1] Five months later, Captain Gray, fresh from his discovery of the Columbia River, "Made the Isle of Owhyhee, one of the Sandwich Islands," writes John Boit, Jr., the seventeen-year old fifth mate of this famous vessel.

In his "Remarks on the Ship *Columbia's* Voyage"[2] for October 30, 1792, he says:

30. Hove to, for some Canoes, and purchased 11 Hogs, from the Natives, and plenty of vegetables, such as Sweet Potatoes, Yams, tarro etc. . . . The Men were fine stately looking fellows, and the Women quite handsome. They were all in a state of Nature, except a small covering round the middle. Not many of the *Columbia's* Crew prov'd to be *Josepths*. Run along very near the Isles, and hove to off Karakakoa Bay. . . .

31. Stood round the Island and haul'd into Toaj yah yah bay, and hove to. Vast *many* canoes sailing in company with us. The shore made a delightful appearance, and appeared in the highest state of cultivation. Many canoes along side, containing beautiful *Women*. Plenty of Hogs and fowls, together with most of the Tropical fruits in abundance; great quantities of Water, and Musk, *Mellons*, Sugar Cane, Bread fruit, and salt was brought for sale. The price of a large Hog was from 5 to 10 spikes — smaller ones in proportion. 6 Dunghill fowls for an Iron Chizzle, and fruit cheaper still. . . .

November 3. Bore off and made all sail for the Coast of China, and soon lost sight of these beautiful Isles, the Inhabitants of which appear'd to me to be the happiest people in the world. Indeed there was something in them so frank and chearful that you cou'd not help feeling prepossesd in their favour.

Just three years later, on October 12, 1795, the same young man, commanding the sloop *Union* in a voyage around the world, sighted "Owhyhee" bearing W. by S. thirty leagues.

Oct. 13th. Brisk breezes and flying clouds with distant thunder. At 6 p. m. tack'd off shore. many large fires in the land. the extremes of the Isle from W B N to S E B S, 3 or 4 leagues from nearest shore. Midnight pleasant. At daylight we were visited by plenty

[1] *Washington Historical Quarterly*, XI. 6 (January, 1920).
[2] *Proceedings*, LIII. 261.

of Canoes fill'd with natives — they brought a great quantity of Hogs and Fruits which they readily parted with, in exchange for Nails & Iron Hoops. the females were quite *amorous*.

"Oct. 14th. Pleasant agreeble weather. laying off and on, the N E point of Owhyhee. Vast many canoes, with natives along side, with abundance of good things. Employ'd through the day trafficing. They appear'd all as happy as Princes." [1]

The next day, John Boit was visited by an Englishman, John Young, formerly boatswain of the New York snow *Eleanor*, who had lived at Hawaii for seven years. Young filled him up with so many tales of native treachery toward visiting traders that Captain Boit's opinions of the Hawaiians were modified. "Small merchantmen have no business to venture themselves there," he concludes. "I hold them among the worst of savages, for if they had that savage and ferocious appearance so strongly pictured on the face of the N. W. Indians they wou'd not be so likely to deceive Europeans who by trusting too much to appearances have been artfully murder'd."

It did not take long for the Northwest Coast fur traders to discover at Hawaii a new medium for the Canton market. That market was, of course, the prime object of our Northwest fur trade. China took nothing that the United States produced; hence Boston traders, in order to obtain the wherewithal to purchase teas and silks at Canton, spent eighteen months or more of each China voyage collecting a cargo of sea-otter skins, highly esteemed by the mandarins. Salem traders, in the same quest for the wealth of the Indies, resorted to various South Sea Islands for edible birds' nests, and bêche de mer or trepang, a variety of sea-cucumber that tickled the mandarin palate. Captain Kendrick (who originally commanded the *Columbia* but remained in Pacific waters in her consort, the sloop *Lady Washington*), discovered about the year 1791 [2] that Hawaii produced sandalwood, an article in great demand at Canton. Captain Vancouver found on the Island of Kauai, in March, 1792, an Englishman, a

[1] John Boit, Jr., "Remarks on Sloop Union's Voyage Round the Globe." MS. Mass. Hist. Soc.

[2] Amasa Delano states (*Voyages*, 1817, 399) that he saw a cargo of Hawaiian sandalwood at Canton in 1790, but it was of an inferior quality and had no sale.

Welshman and an Irishman whom Kendrick had left there the previous October, to collect pearls and sandalwood against his return.[1]

Presumably the produce of their labor was marketed; but not long afterward Captain Kendrick was killed as an accidental result of his intimate interest in Hawaiian affairs. He and his crew helped the chief of Oahu defeat the chief of Kauai, at the Battle of Kalauao, in December, 1794. Lying in Honolulu harbor with him was the English trading vessel *Jackal*, Captain Brown, the crew of which had also taken part in the battle. To celebrate their victory, Captain Kendrick hoisted his ensign on the *Lady Washington* and fired a federal salute, to which the *Jackal* replied. Captain Brown ordered several of his guns unshotted for the purpose, but by mistake the gunner fired one of those that was still charged with round and grape. A ball penetrated the *Lady Washington's* cabin and killed her commander, one of the ablest of our pioneer shipmasters in the Pacific.[2]

Practically every vessel that visited the North Pacific in the closing years of the 18th century stopped at Hawaii for refreshment and recreation;[3] but it was not until the opening years of the 19th that the sandalwood business became a recognized branch of trade. The imports at Canton of that fragrant commodity in American vessels rose from 900 piculs (of 133⅓ pounds each) in 1804–05 to 19,036 piculs in 1811–12.[4] Sandalwood, geography, and fresh provisions made the Islands a vital link in a closely articulated trade route, between Boston, the Northwest Coast, and Canton.

[1] Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Around the World* (London, 1798), I. 172–5, 188–9. The men told Vancouver that the sandalwood was destined for India, a statement due either to ignorance or desire to deceive.

[2] John Boit, Jr., *op. cit.* As Boit received this account from John Young, within a year of the occurrence, and wrote it down immediately, it ought to settle the controversy over the date and manner of Kendrick's death. *E. g.*, H. H. Bancroft, *Pacific States*, XXII. 297–8, and picturesquely garbled version in Bulfinch, *Oregon and Eldorado*, 7.

[3] *E. g.*, the visit in 1801 of Richard J. Cleveland of Salem, described in his *Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises* (1842), and those of Amasa Delano, described in his *Voyages* (1817), chap. XXI. Charles Derby of Salem, who died when in command of the ship *Caroline* of Boston, was buried at Oahu in 1802.

[4] Table in Gutzlaff, *Sketch of Chinese History* (1834), II. appendix iv.

A typical voyage is that of the ship *Pearl*, Capt. John Suter, owned by James & Thomas Lamb, James & Thomas H. Perkins, and Russell Sturgis, all of Boston. She sailed thence on July 23, 1807. On January 13, 1808, she anchored at the "Sandwich Islands," and procured fresh provisions. The next twenty months, from February, 1808, to October, 1809, were spent along the Northwest coast procuring beaver and sea-otter skins. Thence to the Islands, stopping a few days in late October, and taking on provisions and wood. Arrived at Whampoa (the foreign port of Canton), December 5. Sailed March 11, 1810, in company with Theodore Lyman's ship *Vancouver*, Captain Whittemore; the two vessels sailing up Boston harbor almost abreast on August 4, 1810.[1]

One of the earliest white residents of the Islands was George McClay, a Yankee ship-carpenter who drifted into Honolulu sometime between 1793 and 1806. Capt. Amasa Delano of Duxbury, on whose ship he had formerly sailed, found him at the Islands in 1806 with a well-established boat-building business. He had built twenty small vessels, and a few as large as fifty tons burthen.[2]

Late in the year 1811 the ship *Albatross*, owned by the Winship brothers of Boston and Brighton, and commanded by one of them, Captain Nathan, put in at Honolulu.

The object of this protracted voyage (the *Albatross* left Boston in July, 1809,) was to found a fur-trading establishment on the Columbia River. The attempt failed, but Captain Winship then tried fur-trading along the California coast, with such success that water-casks had to be broken up, and the hemp cables coiled on deck, to make room for all the seal-skins he obtained. Yet somehow or other, room was found on board at Honolulu to entertain King Kamehameha I., royal family and suites over night; and to take on a load of sandal-wood. At the Island, Captain Winship was joined by the ship *O'Cain*, owned by his family and commanded by his brother, Jonathan Winship, Jr., and the ship *Isabella*, owned by Bordman & Pope of Boston, and commanded by Capt. William Heath Davis. All three vessels sailed from Honolulu on January 1,

[1] Horatio A. Lamb, *Notes on Trade with the Northwest Coast* (MS., Harvard College Library), 45–47.

[2] Delano, *Voyages*, 395.

1812, for Canton, where they disposed of their skins and sandalwood. Returning to the Islands six months later, the three shipmasters made the following contract with the King:

Articles of agreement indented, made and concluded this twelfth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twelve, by and between Tamaahmaah, King of the Sandwich Islands, of the one part, and Nathan Winship, Wm. Heath Davis, and Jonathan Winship, Jr., native citizens of the United States of America, on the other part, Witnesseth:

That the said Tamaahmaah, for the consideration hereafter mentioned and expressed, doth hereby promise, covenant and agree to and with the said Nathan Winship, William Heath Davis, and Jonathan Winship, Jr., and each and every of them, and each and every of their executors, administrators and assigns, that he will collect, or cause to be collected for them and them only, a supply of sandalwood and cotton of the best qualities which his Islands produce; and he doth hereby give and grant unto the said Nathan Winship, William Heath Davis and Jonathan Winship, Jr., their executors, administrators and assigns, the sole right and privilege of exporting sandalwood and cotton from his islands for the term of ten years and will not on any account or in any manner whatever dispose of any sandalwood or cotton to any other person or persons whomsoever, or suffer any other adventurer, or adventurers, to export any sandalwood or cotton from any of these Islands under his control, during the aforesaid term of ten years. In consideration whereof, the said Nathan Winship, William Heath Davis and Jonathan Winship, Jr., do hereby for themselves, their executors, administrators and assigns, covenant, promise and agree well and truly to pay or cause to be paid, unto the said Tamaahmaah, his successors or assigns, one-fourth part of the net sales of all the sandalwood and cotton which they may export from the Islands belonging to Tamaahmaah, during the aforesaid term of ten years, and to make return in specie or such productions and manufactures of China as the said Tamaahmaah, his successors or assigns may think proper to order. In testimony whereof, they have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals, on this said twelfth day of July, in the year of Our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and twelve.

Signed, sealed and delivered, in presence of Francis de Paula Mann, William Summer.

Tamaahmaah, his O mark (Seal)
William Heath Davis, "
Nathan Winship, "
Jonathan Winship, Jr., "

VIEW of the ISLAND of WOAHOO in the PACIFIC as VISITED by C.E. BENSELL in 1821.

Only one sandalwood cargo, it seems, was shipped to Canton under this contract. By the time the partners returned to Honolulu, news had arrived of our declaration of war on Great Britain. Before the king would furnish another cargo, he insisted on receiving his share of the first. The Winships' agent, John Perkins Cushing (head of Perkins & Co. at Canton), shipped the king under neutral colors a large consignment of specie and China goods that he realized from sale of the sandalwood, but the vessel was delayed so long that the king began to doubt the Winships' good faith.

John Young, now agent for a British rival of Perkins & Co., fanned his suspicions. When the neutral ship finally arrived, the Winship brothers arranged with her captain to deliver the goods to Kamehameha I but to hold the specie on board as security for the monarch's fulfilling his contract. In the event that a British warship appeared, they instructed the captain to deliver the specie to the king rather than risk its capture as American property.

A royal princess of Hawaii, overhearing the conversation at which this disposal of the specie was arranged, played a regular Yankee trick on the Yankee traders. The Islanders kept a lookout on Diamond Head, whence the character, size and nationality of approaching vessels were signalled by human semaphores. The Princess arranged for a false alarm of a big British man-of-war. By the time this rumor was disproved, King Kamehameha had the silver in his possession, and snapped his fingers at the Winships. According to one account, a British sloop-of-war later appearing in the harbor, persuaded him definitely to repudiate the contract. British interference induced Tamoree, the King of Kauai, to repudiate a similar contract with Winship, Winship and Davis.[1]

[1] This account of the Winship episode is largely from an anonymous MS. in the Bancroft Collection, Berkeley, California, entitled "Solid Men of Boston in the Northwest," a copy of which was kindly furnished by the Bancroft Library. This MS. was apparently prepared about the time of the Civil War by someone who knew the Winships well, and who had access to their records. It makes extensive quotations from the journal of the *Albatross's* voyage, kept by Captain Nathan Winship's clerk, John A. Gale of Boston, who subsequently became the pioneer in the trade in hides between Boston and California. On the same subject see *Niles' Register*, XVIII. 418 (August 12, 1820); *Papers of Hawaiian Historical Society*, No. 8, 20; C. Davis in *North American Review*, III. 51 (1816).

The members of this company continued nevertheless to trade with Hawaii for some years. Captain Davis married there the daughter of Oliver Holmes, another pioneer Massachusetts shipmaster.[1] One of the Winships was residing at Honolulu when the missionaries landed, on April 19, 1820, and placed his house at their disposal. Two other American residents made the same offer; Captain Pigot of New York invited them to tea the first evening ashore, and Charles Carey of Chelsea, Massachusetts, master of the ship *Levant*, attended their first communion service on Hawaiian soil.[2]

After the war, Boston's trading relations with Hawaii were resumed. King Kamehameha I, who now controlled the entire group of islands, put the sandalwood traffic under some restraint. During the remainder of his reign, the imports of that commodity at Canton did not reach their pre-war figures.[3] More Boston firms were entering the business; and in 1820 the United States government appointed a Bostonian consular agent at Honolulu.

In 1816 James Hunnewell (1794–1869) of Charlestown embarked at Boston in the hermaphrodite brig *Bordeaux Packet*, 180 tons, Capt. Andrew Blanchard of Medford, for San Francisco. After stopping at the Islands for provisions early in 1817, she proceeded to the coast of Upper and Lower California. Returning to Oahu, the brig was sold to King Kamehameha I, and paid for in sandalwood, which was sent to Canton on another vessel. Mr. Hunnewell remained at Honolulu to "dispose of the balance of the California cargo" (probably live horses and cattle), and of the goods brought from Boston. This was the origin of a mercantile firm still in existence at Honolulu under the name of Brewer & Company.[4]

[1] H. H. Bancroft, *Pacific States*, XIX. 776. Their son William H. Davis, Jr., born at Honolulu in 1822, became a California pioneer, and author of *Sixty Years in California*.

[2] Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-one Years*, 95, 99.

[3] Gutzlaff, *op. cit.* For 1817–18 the imports were 15,825 piculs of sandalwood at Canton, with an annual falling off of 6,005 piculs in 1820–21.

[4] James Hunnewell, *Journal of the Voyage of the "Missionary Packet," Boston to Honolulu, 1826*. Charlestown, 1880. This vessel, a leaky and crank little schooner built at Salem for the missionaries' use among the Islands, was 49 feet long, 13 wide, and registered just under 40 tons. The voyage took nine months. Charles Brewer, who subsequently gave his name to this firm, first saw Honolulu as ordinary seaman on Josiah Marshall's ship *Paragon*, in 1823. Charles Brewer, *Reminiscences* (1889), 20.

It was during the period from 1810 to 1825 that the sandalwood trade was at its height. This wood was in great demand for the Canton market, where it was sold for incense and for the manufacture of fancy articles. It was purchased by the picul of 133⅓ pounds, the price varying from $8 to $10 for the picul. While it lasted this wood was a mine of wealth to the king and chiefs, by means of which they were enabled to buy guns and ammunition, liquor, boats, and schooners, as well as silks and other Chinese goods, for which they paid exorbitant prices. This trade greatly increased the oppression of the common people, multitudes of whom were obliged to remain for months at a time in the mountains searching for the trees, felling them, and bringing them on their backs to the royal storehouses.[1]

A new era opened in 1820 with the arrival of the first missionaries, the first whalers, and the opening of a new reign. It was the missionaries who brought Hawaii in touch with a better side of New England civilization than that represented by the trading vessels and their crews.[2] But without the trader, the missionary would not have come. The commercial relations between Massachusetts and Hawaii form the solid background of American expansion in the Pacific, the fundamental influence that worked steadily toward the annexation of 1898.

A second event which made the year 1820 memorable in Hawaiian economic history, was the arrival of the first Massachusetts whaling vessel — the ship *Maro* of Nantucket, Capt. Joseph Allen.[3] Nantucket whalers had rounded the Horn as early as 1791, but until this year their activities had been confined mainly to the South Pacific. Captain Allen's discovery of the Japanese whaling grounds, made Hawaii as essential to whalers as to China traders. The letters below indicate how rapidly their number increased, and the consequent effect on the cost of living.[4] Our illustration of

[1] W. D. Alexander, *Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (1892), 156.

[2] "The coming of the Missionaries was the real beginning of civilization in the Islands." William R. Castle, Jr., *Hawaii Past and Present* (1913), 89. In the following pages Mr. Castle gives a judicious estimate of the comparative influence of missionaries and traders.

[3] H. Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-one Years*, 134.

[4] R. B. Forbes, in his *Ships of the Past*, 115, describes how he was pulled out of bed at Honolulu by a party of rollicking whalesmen in 1826, put in a handcart and dragged about town. The party paid a visit to Capt. James Hunnewell, who

Honolulu in 1821, from the collection of Mr. Charles H. Taylor, Jr., was undoubtedly made by an officer of the whaler *Russell* of New Bedford, shown in the foreground.

In 1820 the sandalwood trade entered its last phase. Kamehameha I's successor, Liholiho,[1] a drunken and weak-minded prince, discarded the conservation policy of his father. The traders vied with one another in arousing new royal desires, which fresh levies of sandalwood on the unfortunate subjects alone could satisfy. Hence John C. Jones's keen desire to sell fast vessels, billiard tables, and steamboats to the King. As a result Liholiho and the royal family exploited their subjects ruthlessly and the forests recklessly. Sandalwood imports in American vessels at Canton surpassed 21,000 piculs annually in the years 1821–23.[2] It became scarce and high at Hawaii, but a drug in the Canton market; and "the population withered before the curse which the avarice of their chiefs, and the dissipation of their ruler, brought upon them."[3]

At the same time, the native market for American goods was rapidly increasing, owing to the improved standards of living introduced by the missionaries. The New England whalers, so much complained of by the China traders, brought them new business by creating a local market for ships' stores, chandlery, etc.; and by giving them return freights of oil and whalebone.[4] About 1829 the Islands were visited annually by nineteen American vessels engaged in the Northwest fur, South American, China and Manila trades, and by one hundred whalers.[5] By 1840, the value of native supplies provided to

had first brought the little *Missionary Packet* around the Horn for the mission, with a cargo of rum for his own store. Captain Hunnewell was forced to treat the crowd, but they pronounced the rum so vile that he was forced to swallow some of it himself before they would let him go!

[1] Known after his death as Kamehameha II. [2] Gutzlaff, *op. cit.*

[3] James Jackson Jarvis, in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, IX. 113, C. S. Stewart, *Private Journal of Voyage . . . and Residence in the Sandwich Islands* (1828), 124–25.

William H. Bordman, Jr., writes Capt. Seth Barker of the Brig *Smyrna*, then engaged in the fur trade, on June 7, 1831: "We hear today of sales of sandal wood in Canton leaving more than a total loss. Some sent down on Marshalls account the consignees refused to receive & pay the frieght. Dont touch it on any account, even if given you." MS. Bordman letter book, Harvard College Library, 90.

[4] Papers of the Hunnewell's ship *Tsar*, Harvard Western History Collection.

[5] Letter of J. C. Jones, Jr., Oct. 30, 1829, in Charles S. Stewart, *A Visit to the South Seas in the U. S. S. Vincennes* (London 1833), 365.

vessels was twice that of the sandalwood exported, the sugar industry was established, and in five years the Islands had consumed over a million dollars' worth of American goods.[1] A smuggling trade between Hawaii and California began at least as early as 1804.[2] During the Mexican period this increased, and fell largely into the hands of the American firms at Honolulu.[3] The same firm also engaged in seal-skinning on Guadelupe Island, and traded with Okhotsk and Petropavlovsk in Siberia.[4] The discovery of gold in California still further increased the importance of Hawaii as an ocean emporium.

The letters printed below belong to this period. They are selected from the out-letter book of Bryant & Sturgis, and the in-letter book of Marshall & Wildes, prominent Boston merchants engaged in the Northwest Coast, California, Hawaiian Islands, and Canton trade.[5] The Bryant & Sturgis letters are undoubtedly written by the senior member of the firm, Capt. Bill Sturgis, who began his career at the age of sixteen as foremost hand on the ship *Eliza*, outward bound for the Northwest Coast and China, in 1798. After rising to master, and commanding several successful voyages, Captain Sturgis in 1811 formed with John Bryant of Boston a partnership which traded with many ports of the world.[6] This firm acquired a strong position in the sandalwood trade by pur-

[1] *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*, IX. 117–19.

[2] Delano, *Voyages*, 397.

[3] Marshall MSS. and Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*.

[4] Charles Brewer, *Reminiscences*, 35–44.

[5] These letter books are among the MSS. collected for the Harvard Commission on Western History by Mr. Thomas P. Martin.

The Bryant and Sturgis MSS. were donated by a descendant of John Bryant. Some in-letters of this firm are in the Hooper-Sturgis MSS. in our cabinet, but none from the Pacific for this period. The Marshall MSS. were deposited by Mrs. John H. Morison (Emily Marshall Eliot), a great-granddaughter of Josiah Marshall. The out-letter books for this firm have disappeared. The value of such material for the history of American commerce and expansion is self-evident. Hundreds if not thousands of even more valuable commercial MSS. are today lying neglected in offices and garrets, and every year a part of their precious remnant is lost through indifference or ignorance. It is hoped that the owners of such material, who may not wish to donate it outright will for the sake of its preservation place it in some safe repository. The Massachusetts Historical Society and the Harvard College Library are always glad to store historical MSS. free of charge.

[6] See his Memoir, by C. G. Loring, in *Proceedings*, VII. 420.

chasing the famous yacht *Cleopatra's Barge*, and sending her out under Capt. John Suter, a veteran "Nor'westman." [1]

Josiah Marshall (1773–1841) was a native of Billerica, Massachusetts, who built up a mercantile and shipping business in Boston.[2] With him was associated, in a quarter interest, Capt. Dixey Wildes, who had made several voyages to Canton and Hawaii since 1800 in command of various vessels. The letters to this firm are mostly from its agent at Honolulu, John Coffin Jones, Jr., who had already visited the Islands, and returned on one of Marshall's smaller vessels in 1820, bearing a federal commission as "agent for commerce and seamen." [3] Mr. Jones evidently had a mercantile establishment of his own at Honolulu, besides acting as agent. His disposition was so unsteady and irascible that Marshall first and last had a good deal of trouble with him. His professional jealousy of Capt. John Suter will be noted in his correspondence. Toward the missionaries' efforts to uplift the Hawaiians, Mr. Jones expresses the traditional trader's antagonism.[4] The picturesque, if promiscuous, royal personages of Hawaii interest him only as

[1] For John Suter (1781–1852), see my *Maritime History of Massachusetts* (1921).

[2] Very little is known of Josiah Marshall. His rise from Cambridge Street to Franklin Place, and from "grocer" through "W. I. goods" to "merchant," may be traced in the Boston directories. He failed in business at the time of the panic of 1837, and died at Providence. Mr. Marshall was perhaps more famous for his beautiful daughters than for his wealth. A portrait, now in the possession of his descendant, John Carter Brown Woods of Providence, is reproduced in Frank B. Kingsbury, *Marshall Family Record* (Keene, N. H., 1913), 9. This work is in error in stating that one of Marshall's vessels took the first missionaries to Hawaii. The *Thaddeus* did not belong to Marshall. Dixey Wildes commanded the Lymans' ship *Atahualpa* in 1800, and Marshall's ship *Paragon* for several years before 1820. He was elected president of the Boston Marine Society.

[3] J. M. Callahan, in *Johns Hopkins Studies*, XIX. 39, *n*. John Coffin Jones, Jr., was baptized by the minister of Brattle Street Church, Boston, on June 26, 1796. His father (1750–1829), H. C. 1768, was a well-known Boston Federalist, owner of much real estate in the city and state, and partner of Thomas Lee in mercantile and shipping business. J. C. Jones, Jr., remained U. S. commercial agent at Honolulu until 1837, became a shipowner on his own account, took an active part in the early California trade, and married a native Californian, who was still living in 1885. H. H. Bancroft, *Pacific States*, XXI. 694. The Boston Athenæum has a small oil portrait by a Chinese artist of "Tammahammaha" (Kamehameha I), presented by J. C. Jones, Jr., in 1818. There is an engraving of it in J. J. Jarvis, *History*, 206.

[4] While writing this paper, I read in John Dewey's article, "The New Leaven in Chinese Politics" in *Asia* of April, 1920, p. 271, "Many western business

middlemen for sandalwood. But the letters do relate, as no description can, the importance of Hawaii in the Canton and Northwest Coast trade. Honolulu was the headquarters for a business that reached out to Puget Sound for furs, to the California coast for hides, and to Canton for teas and silks and the other Oriental luxuries, the distribution of which contributed greatly to the wealth of Boston during the early nineteenth century.

As early as 1823 there were four mercantile houses in the Islands: Hunnewell's, Jones's, "Nor'west John," DeWolf's (from Bristol, R. I.), and another from New York.[1] The little community of respectable traders and missionaries, with a disreputable fringe of deserters from merchantmen and whalers, was so predominantly Bostonian that "Boston" acquired the same connotation in Hawaii as along the Northwest Coast. It stood for the whole United States.[2] Hawaii had, in fact, become an outpost of New England. The foreign settlement at Honolulu, with its frame houses shipped around the Horn, haircloth furniture, orthodox meeting house built of coral blocks, and New England Sabbath, was as Yankee as a suburb of Boston.[3]

The Boston traders brought back something more than wealth. Their acquisitions in the way of feather garments, native carving, tapa cloth, and heathen idols, founded the rich Hawaiian ethnological collections at Cambridge and Salem. Hard, practical, unsentimental men that they were, yet the virgin charms of those enchanting islands, the eternal summer, the white surf-rimmed beaches, the verdure-clad mountains rising directly from the sea into cloudland, and the kindly hospitable natives made an impression so deep and lasting as to draw their descendants thither with irresistible force, this centennial year. May the next century draw even closer the bonds that have long existed between Boston and Hawaii.

men especially deplore the attempts of missionaries to introduce new ideas." The Rev. Hiram Bingham pays his respects to Mr. Jones in his *Residence of Twenty-one Years*, 137.

[1] C. S. Stewart, *Journal*, 154.

[2] Jarvis (*op. cit.* 194) states that the Islanders spoke of Americans generally as Bostonians as early as 1804.

[3] See Francis Warriner, *Cruise of the U. S. Frigate Potomac* (1835), 224.

Bryant & Sturgis to John Suter.[1]

Boston, June 20, 1820.

Sir, — We have conversed with you so fully on the subject of the present voyage, that we should not think it necessary to be very particular in our instructions were it not for the possibility that some accident may deprive us of your services in which unfortunate event it would be necessary your successor should be apprised of our general plan — This expedition is to consist of *three vessels* all of them to be in some measure under your direction. The *Cleopatra Barge* of which you have the immediate command, is intended to be sold at the Sandwich Islands. She will be followed in a few days by the Brig *Lascar* at present commanded by Mr. Harris, and it is our intention to send, either immediately or some months hence, a large ship for the purpose of carriag to Canton the proceeds of the *Barge* in Sandal wood. Should you succeed in selling the *Barge*, [you] are to leave some prudent and trusty person to collect the wood which you may agree to receive for her and go yourself on board the *Lascar* to the North west coast where you will remain as long as you think proper and then resign the command of her to Mr. Harris or some proper Person, take the skins you have collected and proceed to Canton and Home. Should you not be able to sell the *Barge* at the Islands on arrival, you will then prepare her for the coast and take both Her and the *Lascar* under your direction remaining on board of whichever of them you please. We have very little doubt however but that you will be able to make a favorable sale of the *Barge* at the Islands and in this case you must endeavor to make your agreement with the King in the clearest manner, stating how many piculs of wood you are to receive, what the quality is to be and where it is to be delivered to your Agent. Should you leave the Islands before the Ship gets out you must agree with the King to put the wood on board her and direct your agent accordingly. Your contract with the King ought to be made in the clearest and most particular manner *in writing* and signed by proper witnesses, leaving one copy with your agent and taking one with yourself. If a Ship is sent soon after you it may be practicable to make some arrangement for her to carry down your own wood and return for a freight or carry some part of a cargo for the King the first time and agree to bring him out the proceeds in Canton goods on conditions of receiving a quantity of wood on your return equal to what you

[1] Bryant & Sturgis MSS. These are the general instructions for an expedition consisting of brigs *Becket* and *Lascar*, ships *Tartar* and *Mentor*, and the *Barge*. Captain Suter's log of the voyage out is in the Essex Institute, and a fragment of his journal at the Islands is in the Boston Marine Museum.

carried down for the King It would not be best to make such an arrangement unless you was to be well paid for it because a good Freight might be offered in Canton for the Ship to go to Europe or come home. If you find it impossible to sell the *Barge* at the Islands, either going out, or after being one season on the coast, it may be best to send down your collection of Furs in the Ship, if there, or in the *Mentor*, or some other vessel and go yourself with the *Barge* to Lima or some part of the Spanish coast and there dispose of her, or keep on the North west coast as long as there was trade enough for her and the *Lascar*. If when you get to the Islands going out you find such great changes as induce you to think there is little chance of selling her, you must write us by every opportunity, and we will send out more cargo to keep her and the *Lascar* employed on the N. W. Coast, and endeavor to have it out there in time. You will probably get to the Islands in time to write us by the *Ann* or *Volunteer*, or by some other vessel. In this case write us very particularly, say what your prospect is, what articles are in demand and give us all the information in your power, inclose these letters to James P. Sturgis & Co,[1] *unsealed* and ask them to have them copied and send us one by every vessel from Canton, that we may be sure to get them early and give the same orders to your agent. We must leave to your judgment at what price to sell the vessel. You cannot calculate on more than Seven Dollars pr Pickel for Sandal Wood of good quality. The price you may be induced to take for her may depend in some measure on the prospect on the coast, but we much prefer her being sold if it can be done on good terms, as 'tis possible we may send out some little vessel to be a tender to the *Lascar* if we can meet with one on good terms. We agree to allow you as full compensation for your services Eight pr. cent on the nett proceeds in America of all property collected by you in any of these vessels, Also the same on any Freight which you may obtain, Wages pr shipping paper. Should you find it necessary to make any sacrifice of your own interest for the good of the Voy[age] we will make you such remuneration as any impartial Person shall say is fair and equitable. We have agreed with Mr. Harris to give him one pr cent commission as mate of the *Lascar* and six pr cent when he becomes master. If you find it necessary to take both vessels on the coast you will probably keep one in charge of Mr. Harris; if so, he will expect some additional pay beyond the one pr.ct.

[1] One of the early Boston firms at Canton, later consolidated in Russell & Co. James Perkins Sturgis (1791–1851) was one of the sixteen children of Russell Sturgis (1750–1826), who married Elizabeth, sister of Thomas Handasyd Perkins. He lived at Canton twenty-five, and Macao eighteen years, and was at one time United States Consul at Canton.

You must agree with him what this additional pay shall be while you remain and as you will receive your 8% on the whole collection made while you remain on the coast you must be charged with whatever is paid Mr. Harris beyond the 1%. All property sent to Canton you will consign to James P. Sturgis & Co. Mr Butler is to have $25 pr. mo. till you leave to come home. He is then to be first mate of the *Lascar*, and have $20. and 1%. Whenever you leave the Pacific Ocean you will endeavor to leave the *Lascar* with the best officers and crew. All whom you discharge abroad you will pay off on the spot if you can, if not you must give them orders on us, taking care to settle and keep copies of their accounts and take receipts in full. If you have any troublesome men or useless officers get rid of them soon as possible. If you discharge men abroad and pay them off from the Cargo you shall receive your commission on the amount. As your interest in this Voyage is the same as our own we leave you at liberty to manage with the property under your charge in such way as you may think for interest of all concerned. We wish you to be particular and keep an accurate account of all property that is transferred from one vessel to the other as Capt. Porter will be an owner in the *Lascar* and not in the others. We will thank you to embrace every opportunity of writing and give us all information that may be useful. Whenever you supply the officers or crew with any article let them know the price at the time. You will converse freely with your officers during the passage and advise them how to proceed if any accident happens to you. Wishing you a pleasant and prosperous Voy. and safe return. We agree to allow you privilege from Canton in the ship free of expense. We are Your Friends

Bryant & Sturgis.

June 20, 1920. I acknowledge the foregoing to be a copy of the orders I have rec'd for my government in the Brig *Cleopatra Barge* and agree to conform to the same to the best of my judgment.

John Suter.

Bryant & Sturgis to James Harris.

Boston, July 17, 1820.

Sir, — You being appointed to take charge of the Brig *Lascar* for the outward passage and it being the first time you have been placed in so responsible a situation, we think it proper to give you directions for the future part of the Voyage. you will shape your course so as to bring you to about the longitude of 32° or 34° when in

Latitude of 30° Here you may expect to take the N. E. trades. Then steer so as to pass about 2 or 3 degrees to the Westward of the Cape de Verd Islands and endeavor to cross the Line any where between Longitude of 23° & 29°. You will lose the N. E. Trade in Latitude 8° or 10° North and have light southerly winds, calms and squalls till you get to about 2° north, when you will probably find the wind incline to SSE and round to SE. You need not be afraid of falling to leeward on the Brazil coast if you cross the line any where to the Eastward of Longitude 30°, but if you get to the Eastward of 25° you will be in danger of long calms. after crossing the line, keep a good full and run along about 3° or 4° from Cape Rio. *by all means* go to *westward* of the Faulkland Island, pass in sight of the east end of Staten Land (called Cape St. John) and don't be afraid of the land off Cape Good Horn. It is best not to go much if any to Southward of the little Island of Diego Ramirez as the passage is very good and clear between that and Cape Horn. You will find a constant current off the cape, setting to the north East, and the only difficulty is after passing Cape Horn to get a wind that will enable you to make a slant along the Shore to the northward. You had better be on the safe side when approaching the Sandwich Islands and take care to get in their Latitude 3° or 4° to windward as 'tis much easier to run to leeward than to beat up. . . .

You will employ the crew on the passage in getting her ready for the coast, always remembering that we want every thing done to keep her tight staunch and in good order, but would not waste a dollar for Show. Be very careful of your Stores and provisions, put the Crew on regular allowance and take care that they have full weight and measure. We earnestly desire you to treat them well. give them good language and good usage and they must be very bad if they make any difficulty. The success of the voyage depends very much on preserving peace and harmony on board and should you find any one particularly troublesome endeavor to get rid of him at the Islands and pay him off.

If the *Barge* is sold at the Islands, Capt. Suter will take on board as many of her Crew as he thinks necessary. Should you not join this vessel at the Islands, you must Ship good Stout natives enough to make your complement twenty-two *all told* on board. Agree to pay them regular wages, Charge them what clothes and what you furnish them and when you return to the Islands pay them the balance of their wages in such trade you have left that they want. We hope you will not bring home more men than you carry out, provided you can discharge them with their consent, as the present crew is quite large enough to go to Canton with. You may furnish

the crew with clothing and any other articles of trade, taking care that they do not take up more than is due to them. Charge them one hundred per cent on the Invoice price of clothes, Boots, Shoes and all articles necessary for their comfort, and for any thing else that they take up charge the same price as you are selling it for to the Natives. Always tell them the price when they take the article. Should any one be discharged during the Voyage remember to deduct his advance wages and orders (if any) before paying him off.

Should you go on the coast without Suter you will consult with Porter who is an Owner in your vessel. You will make as large a collection as you can which must be sent off by the *Mentor*, or if She does not come off then send them by some other vessel, agreeing to pay them the usual Freight which is two and an half per cent on the Sales in Canton. Take three Bills Lading for what Furs you send by any vessel. Keep one yourself, send one to James P. Sturgis & Co., Canton, to whom you will consign the Furs, and send the other Bill Lading to us. Be as economical of your Cargo as you can, but endeavor to get your full share of all the Furs on the coast. You are not limited as to time but may stay as long as your Cargo and provisions hold out. If you stay more than two seasons you may send off your Furs at the end of the second season by any vessel that will take them on the usual terms. . . .

Bryant & Sturgis to John Suter.

Boston, July 18. 1820.

We are still of opinion that it is *very desirable* to sell the Barge immediately. there will be a great advantage in getting our wood to Canton before Wilds gets out there. Marshall has bought a little Schooner which he means to have ready to send out as soon as Wilds arrives from Canton and he expects him every day. Mr. Bryant has gone to N. York to try to find a little vessel to send out to you as a tender, but has not succeeded as yet. If we find one to suit we shall buy her.

. . . . . .

There will be a good many vessels sent out. Marshall has the Schooner and his two new Brigs and perhaps some others may be sent, so that there will be more vessels there for sale next winter than they can want or find wood to pay for. besides, we shall buy a small vessel and send out if we can find one to our mind and in that case you would have more vessels on the coast than you would know what to do with. we mentioned to you the possibility that you might make a bargain with the King to sell him the *Barge* and take one of

his little vessels in part pay that would do for a Tender, but you must use your judgment about this. only endeavor to sell if possible, for we do not think there will ever be a better chance. say to the Missionaries that we shall bring the frame of their House in the *Tartar* free of freight, and as we do so much for them they must aid you if they can. There are several things for the *Lascar* which we shall send in the *Tartar* as the Brig is full. will write you again fully by the *Tartar*, and are must truly Your Friends, &c.

BRYANT & STURGIS.

JOHN COFFIN JONES, JR., TO JOSIAH MARSHALL.

[BRIG TAMAHOURELANNE]
NOOEVA[1] BAY, April 11th 1821

SIR, — It affords me much satisfaction, tho at this late period; to advise you of our safe arrival at the Island of Nooheva,[1] all well; fortune who sports with the vain wishes and prudence of men has given to us an e[ter]nal proof of it, One hundred and eighty days had elapsed ere we had cast anchor at this Island, we have encountered nothing but adverse winds and rough weather since our departure from Boston. the elements have been at war against us but it is hard to contend with fate. We have repaired the Brig and take our departure for Roberts Island on the morrow, where having painted the vessel we shall make the best of our way for Woahoo.[2] When we again write you we trust it will be to advise you of success to our utmost wishes.

All is well nothing new to communicate; Please remember us to our friends and oblige your Obdt. Sert.

J. C. JONES, JR.

P S. We forward this by an English whale ship bound to the Coast. April 12th 1821

I have the pleasure this day of announcing to you, the arrival of the Brig *Inore*, Capt. Grimes, she has just come round from North Bay, nothing new; has experienced heavy weather off the Cape she will proceed with us to Roberts Island.[3]

The *Inore* has lost her long Boat[4]

[1] Nukahiva Island, one of Washington group in the Marquesas, discovered by Captain Joseph Ingraham of Boston in 1791, and the scene of Melville's *Typee*.

[2] Oahu, the island on which Honolulu is situated.

[3] An old name for another island of the Washington group, first visited in 1792 by the ship *Jefferson* of Boston, Capt Josiah Roberts. Delano, *Voyages*, 28; 1. *Collections*, IV. 242, ff.

[4] Charles Brooks' *History of Medford*, pp. 363, 368, states that the brigs *Tamahourelanne*, 162 tons, and *Jones*, 163 tons, were built by Thatcher Magoun

William French[1] to Josiah Marshall.

Canton, China, June 30. 1821.

Dear Sir, — Yours by the *Archer* came duly to hand, also the box containing two thousand dollars and keg of lamb skins. the skins were entirely ruined by the Worms and will not bring anything.

I am sorry to hear my goods are not sold, though from the small quantity shipped last season I think they cannot sell at a loss. . . . China goods are lower here at present than they have been for a number of years past, large purchases have been made in 18 tale crapes at 5.40 @ 5.50 of good quality and many other goods equally low. I have formed a connection in business here with Mr. Timothy G. Pitman, of Boston, a young man of the first respectability, with a capital of Twenty thousand dollars, all of which he has accumulated in this place within a few years, and has a very liberal share of Commission business. The transient commission business which I have been favored with here, has far exceeded my expectations, which has induced me to make this permanent stand here for the present. We have taken a lease of the Hong formerly built by the Danish East India Compy., on a lease of five years with permission to relinquish it sooner or retain it longer at our pleasure, we have also obtained lease of the China Govt. to build three new Factories, two of which are completed, the foundation laid for the third which will be done in all August. we shall retain only two for our own use, the others (six in number), we are renting out at a very handsome advance on our lease. . . .

It would be money in your hands to pay a commission on your whole business in Canton, if you have an agent here to pay proper attention to the business and take the advantage of the market. . . . Mr. Cushing's silk cost him from 10 to 15 pr. ct. less, than those purchased by regular supercargoes who remain here on two & three months. I shall pay particular attention to the commission business myself, and I have no doubt from your friendly letters, but you will assist me all in your power, and also favor me with as much of your business as may be consistent with your Interest. . . .

at Medford in 1820 for Josiah Marshall, then taken to pieces and shipped to the Islands aboard the brig *Thaddeus*. These letters prove that both brigs (*Jones* being an evident error for *Inore*) were sailed around the Horn to Hawaii.

[1] William French, who addresses Josiah Marshall as "uncle" in a subsequent letter, must have been a son of William French of Billerica, Massachusetts, who married Marshall's elder sister Rebecca. (*Billerica Vital Records.*) He afterward conducted a mercantile business at Honolulu, and traded by small vessels with California, Mexico, Canton and Siberia. *Sandwich Island Gazette*, Aug. 13, 1836, 4; R. B. Forbes, *Personal Reminiscences*, 92, ff.; Charles Brewer, *Reminiscences*, 35, ff.

Eliah Grimes to Joseph Marshall.

Woahoo, July 5th, 1821.

Dear Sir, — On my arrival here I found Capt. Brown anxiously awaiting for me, who had heard of me at Iuan Fernandez, where I was compelled to stop for water, having been nearly six weeks on three pints, owing to a long passage and bad casks, which three of them leaked out. the weather off Cape Horn was very severe so much so I lost both boats, Camboose house, spars, bulwarks, rose the starboard plank shire about ¾ of an inch, washed two men off deck fortunately got on board again. . . .

On the 25th [April, at the Marquesas], the whale boat was stolen by Charles Avery, John Wilson and the Islander I took from Boston, and took her to the north part of the Island where I had been. on the 30th I went where the boat was in company with the Brig and Ship *Charles*, Capt. Lock, who very politely offered his services. After a few hours detention I obtained the boat by making a few presents. I did not stop for the people as I found it would detain me some time and would be attended with difficulty, I made the best of my way back and landed Mr Ross at Lewis bay. on the 3d of May bore up for the Sandwich Islands and arrived on the 23d at Woahoo. At present I am not able to inform you what will be done immediately. The Schooner *Eagle* was at Atooi when I arrived. on her return I found her very much out of order, hove her out coppered her keel and from light water mark to her bends, Put on a false keel, found the mainmast very rotten in the wake of the partners, fore yards badly sprung which both has been well fished. Fore and main channel we have been obliged to put preventer chains on as the sides were pine, the old bolts had become loose and leaky. she has been caulked outside, the decks half done and will soon be ready for sea. I think you will have reason to regret with me for not putting on board the *Paragon* a California cargo, as I requested before sailing, which the *Eagle* would answer — the only place she is fit along that coast. The NW coast has become very dangerous, without a large compliment of men well armed, which cannot be procured, neither blunderbusses nor swivels sufficient nor guns suitable for her. If I can collect a small cargo for California I will improve it immediately, it being too late for Beerings Straits. It would have been a fortunate thing had you bought the *Barge*, as it would increase your capital near an hundred thousand dollars not only the profit of the vessel, but would have prevented that concern from entering into this trade, their agent believing they have got such foot hold they wrote four months ago for a ship of two hundred and fifty tons and a large amount of goods such as those best cloths that come out in the *Paragon*. here

is a powerful opposition to contend with. Capt. Ebbets and Davis are very popular at the same time conduct themselves in the most gentlemanly manner towards all concerns while their others are trying to injure Yours in haste

ELIAH GRIMES

JOHN COFFIN JONES, JR., TO MARSHALL & WILDES.

WOAHOO, VILLAGE OF HANNARORAH,[1] July 6th, 1821.

GENTLEMEN, — I embrace this opportunity of writing you by the *Alexander*, Capt. Commeford who arrived her yesterday and sails this afternoon for Canton, I have to regret that I cannot offer you a more flattering account of our prospects in this quarter of the globe, than those which it is my duty to lay before you. We arrived at the Island of Woahoo on the 20th of May and came to anchor outside the reef, I immediately went on shore and consulted with Capts. Brown and Babcock with respect to further proceedings. I received their advice to proceed to Atooi and dispose of the Brig and Cargo on the best terms and deliver the Brig up as soon as the bargain might be closed; in four days after we were at Atooi; I was received with every attention and honour and welcomed by the King. I found that Tamoree had bought the Brig *Becket* and cargo for 3200 piculs of sandall wood, and also Capt. Ebbets at Anchor in the Ship *Wm and John*, selling his goods at first cost; I almost dispaired of doing any thing, knowing what I had to contend with. I delivered your letter to the King and offered him the Brig and Cargo he replied that he had bought another Brig and wanted no more; I treated him with every attention and honour, made him handsome presents and gave him elegant dinners. after much trouble and difficulty I succeeded in selling the Brig and Cargo including the house for 7700 piculs of wood payable all in one year, the Boat he has given me an obligation to pay when she will be finished, per twice full;[2] after receiving the kings notes and obligations, I gave up the Brig, leaving Capt Marsters to superintend the building of the boat and house, and returned in the schooner to Woahoo; I endeavored much, but found it impossible to obtain dollars of the King and therefore gave it up. Our worst enemy at Atooi, I found to be Mr. George Tamoree.[3] he endeavored all in his power to prevent the sale of

[1] Honolulu. The missionaries had not yet standardized the spelling of Hawaiian names, hence the wide variations.

[2] This refers to the method of selling boats and vessels. A hollow the exact dimensions of the boat's hull was made on the beach — and filled once or twice full of sandalwood, according to the bargain.

[3] George P. Tamoree, or Kaumualii, was a son of the king of Atooi or Kauai, the last island to be conquered by Kamahameha I. George was intended for

the Brig but fortunately he has no influence with his father, he has become a worthless disapated fellow, of no advantage to any one. Since the departure of the Ship at Atooi they have not cut a single stick of wood they have done nothing but dance and amuse themselves; however they now seem determined to make every exertion to pay all their debts when I left Atooi every man was gone to the mountains, I have no doubt but Tamoree will be honorable. Our prospects at the Windward Islands are rather gloomy the *Inore* is not sold and but little of the Ships cargo disposed of, the King and chiefs show no disposition at present to purchase, they are owing at least 18,000 piculs of wood, which do their best will take them a long time to procure, I think however when they can see their way clear to pay, they will take the Brig & Ships cargo. The King, Queens, and Chiefs are at Woahoo devouring all before them, provisions of every description are dearer here than perhaps any part of the world. The King has but little command, Pitt and Carimano do most of the business, John Adams has charge of Owhyhee, Cox, is here and Boka also.[1]

The Schooner *Eagle* is here over going a repair, as the season is so late it will be of little use for her to go to the Coast, I believe however Capt. Brown is determined to send her; had we a cargo for California, from correct information, I think we might easily obtain a thousand otters, however as we have not we must do the best we can. Capt. Suter has done every thing in his power to injure our concern, and not without a great effect; I forbear to relate to you the infamous falsehoods that have been circulated by that man respecting yourselves. acts that are unpardonable have been committed, and deeds that would disgrace the meanest wretch have been perpetrated by that man; my pen almost recoils from writing his name; but the triumph of falsehood is short and I trust in God that we who have made integrity our guide will yet reap abundantly the fruits of our labours. French John is the King's right hand man, and whatever he says is law. this man Suter has got completely under his thumb by constant flattery and bribery, he consequently acts against us.

the Cornwall mission school, but preferred to fight in the American navy during the war of 1812. He returned to Hawaii on the *Thaddeus*.

[1] "Governor Cox" was English nickname of a native Chief. "John Adams," the governor of the Island of Hawaii, was his brother. "The name of Adams was given him, when a child, at the time the Presidential chair of the United States was occupied by our venerable countryman of Quincy. He considers the name a great honour, and prefers it, in being addressed, to any other." C. S. Stewart, *Private Journal* (1828) I, 119. "Carimano" is Kaahumanu, one of the Queen Dowagers, and also married simultaneously to George Tamoree and his father. "Billy Pitt" was the English nickname of the King's prime minister: Boki was his brother.

Till now I never knew the rascality of mankind, every one here is ready to cut his neighbours throat, truth never is spoken, treachery is the order of the day, I am disgusted with my fellow man — Crimakoo[1] goes from here tomorrow in the *Bordeaux Packet* for Owhyhee and will return in a few days, when as he has promised he will decide whether he takes the Brig or not, should we be able to close with him it will be a long time before the wood could be collected say two years.

The Sandwich Islands are not what they were two years ago they are glutted with every merchandize, and vessels more than they know what to do with, even the elegant Brig *Cleopatras Barge*[2] which they purchased more than a year since and for which they have not yet paid a single stick, they would willingly pay Capt. Suter a thousand piculs if he would take her back; they are sick of trading, all their subjects are complaining and endeavoring to influence them to purchase no more, what will be the final event is difficult to determine

In the *Tamahourellanne* we met with no success at the Marquesa. we found them at Noohevah returned to their savage state, not a stick of wood to be obtained, we landed Titarro and in three days started for Roberts Island, in going out of the harbour we fell in with the *Inore* Capt Grimes, when both brigs bore away for Roberts Islands, arriving there we found to our mortification a heavy sea continually rolling in to the bay, and the wind continually out rendering it impossible to get in without we might warp, and then nothing could be done to the vessels. finding this to be the case, it was judged advisable to return to Nooheva, which we did after Capt. Grimes and myself had ascertained respecting birds nests. we first obtained one of the birds which proved to be of the species of gull. we next with great hazard and difficulty ascended the steep bluff rock, and to our mortification discovered that these birds built no nests but deposited their eggs in the small crevices of the rocks, thus were we disappointed. after refitting the Brig in the best possible manner we proceeded to the Sandwich Islands where we arrived as before related.

Capt. Davis[3] is residing here, the *Arab* has gone to Sitka, Capt. Blanchard[4] takes passage in the *Alexander*, he leaves Mr. Hunne-

[1] Kalaimoku, the prime minister, generally known as "Billy Pitt."

[2] There is a lithograph of the *Cleopatra's Barge* lying at anchor in Lahaina Roads, in C. S. Stewart, *Private Journal of a Voyage*, (1828), 172; also reproduced in my *Maritime History of Massachusetts*.

[3] William H. Davis. See p. 18, *supra*.

[4] Commander of the brig *Thaddeus*, that brought the first missionaries to Honolulu.

well behind to collect his wood, he has about 400 piculs owing him; he goes home I understand with the idea of coming out in a ship for Bryant & Sturgis to be sold here, this however is only report; Capt. Pigot in the *St Martin* with several Americans have gone to settle Fannings Islands, there is plenty of lamar [1] and Tortoise shell at those Islands; The Brig *Pedlar* [2] of Newyork is on the Coast she did nothing at these Islands. Capt. Harris is also on the coast, their prospects are bad. Capt. Ebbets is building a beautiful pilot boat at this Island. she will be launched in a few days and is probably sold. We are at present keeping store in the lower part of the wooden house, the upper room is finished in an elegant style and very much admired by the Chiefs. we had a dinner in it on the 4th inst. I can not forbear mentioning to you the service Mr. Elwell has been and now is to our concern, all speak of him in high terms, had he not remained I dont know what would have been the fate of the property left, behind, let me recommend him to your kind notice. I need not add that at all times I shall use my best exertions to promote your interest and trust that I shall ever deserve your approbation, my only wish is that Capt Wildes was here. We commence building the ten foot house (brought out in the *Neo*) the next week. An opportunity will offer shortly of forwarding letters by way of Cape Horn, when I shall write more particular. With respect I am, Gentlemen, Your Obdt. Servt.

J. C. Jones, Jr.

John Coffin Jones, Jr., to Marshall & Wildes.

Island of Woahoo, Oct. 5th, 1821.

. . . . . .

King Rheo Rheo is only a boy, pleased with a rattle tickled with a straw, rum is his god, scarce have I seen him sober, he is flying from one Island to another, devouring all before him about two months since in one of his frolicks, he started with about 30 in a little pleasure boat, and the next day landed at Atooi, soon followed him all the Chiefs and Queens in the *Barge*, *Neo*, *Bordeaux Packet* and *Inore*,

[1] *Bêche de mer* or trepang, a kind of sea-cucumber that was collected and dried for the Canton trade.

[2] "May 23, 1820, arrival of the brig *Pedlar*. Captain Meek, bringing the first letters from the Board and friends in America." Journal of Elisha Loomis, in O. H. Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii*, 83. The *Sandwich Island Gazette*, I. no. 1 (July 30, 1836) mentions "the enclosure of Capt. John Meek" at Honolulu. There was also a Capt. Thomas Meek of Marblehead, who settled in Honolulu, married a native woman and became a government pilot. John D. Whidden, *Ocean Life in Old Sailing Ship Days* (1908), 63; Brewer, *op. cit.*, 27, 32.

there they commenced their round of dissipation and put a stop to all business on that Island, every man was recalled, from cutting wood. And mirth was the order of the day; I was present when Tamoree gave every thing he possessed to Rheo Rheo and acknowledge him to be his king, he went so far as even to carry his powry dish behind him wherever he went. after having visited every part of the Island, Rheo Rheo returned a few days since in the *Cleopatras Barge*, and has brought up Tamoree with him, for what purpose we no not. some say he will never return, I do not think so myself; all their vessels are here in harbour, and their intention at present is to visit all the windward Islands, we shall do our endeavors to prevent this, Tamoree is fast growing old, and I think is not long for this world, should he pop off I tremble for the consequence. Pit is here, he returned yesterday from the mountains where he has been cutting wood for the last five months, he is almost worn out, Cox has charge of Atooi, John Adams is at Owhyhee, Carhamario is at the leeward part of the Island, she and Pit are the only persons we put any dependance on they have some sense of propriety and integrity.

Had the *Cleopatras Barge* never have come to these Islands we should in all probability have made as great a voyage as ever was performed in these seas, that vessel is so superior to any of ours, that they will scarce look at them, had the sale of the *Barge* been managed right, she would have sold for 12000 piculs as quick as she did for 6000, they almost adore her; Suiter has done every thing to injure us, and succeeded in some degree, he has persecuted our concern to an overbearing degree; every foreigner in this country is ready to cut his neighbours throat, truth is a stranger here, the Sandall wood fever will deprive some of their reason.

Our expenses at these Islands will be much greater than they were on previous voyages, Provisions are much dearer here than in Boston market; every pound of pork we have bought has cost 16 cts., potatoes $4 a barrel, other things in proportion. the *Paragon* has expended nearly all her salt provisions, if she stays much longer she will eat us out. labour too is also high, we have to pay one dollar per day for Conacars,[1] and have been obliged to hire a large number, the *Paragon* has now only 3 men before the mast belonging to her, the *Inore* not one, Capt. Brown has been confined with a white swelling about two months. he is now recovering; Babcock is here not of much use to any one. I have determined myself to stop here till the next year considering the large property we shall have here, in that time I hope to sell every thing and collect the funds; I shall at all times use my best endeavours to promote the interest of the

[1] Kanakas.

voyage and hope when it shall have terminated to meet your approbation. With Respect

J. C. Jones, Jr.

Island of Woahoo, Nov. 5th, 1821.

. . . . . .

The small schooner brought out in the *Inore* was launched yesterday. we have named her the *Boston*, she will be fitted as soon as possible, and probably sold for twice full. The wooden house is set up and in great forwardness. King Rheo Rheo is at Owhyhee; Tamoree is here and has married Carhamano, they intend going to Atooi shortly. The Brig *Thaddeus* Capt. Sumner arrived this morning from Kamschatka with a cargo of fish, cordage, and axes. . . .

Island of Woahoo, December, 23d, 1821.

Gentlemen, — The Brig *Pedlar* Capt. Meek sails on the morrow for China by her I have the pleasure to advise you of the safe arrival of the Brig *Owhyee*, Capt. Henry, One hundred and forty nine days to this Island, she is now in Harbour and striped, caulking and putting in order for the coast; her cargo for the coast is excellent indeed, perhaps never a better went to that market, she will have many to contend with in that part of the world, but with her superior goods, and the good skill and management of Capt. Grimes I think she will be able to weather other adventures. The articles designated for the Islands are good and in some demand, but they are charged so enormous high that if the Invoice exhibits the true cost, we cannot dispose of them for any profit. You have limited the price of the Poca-ava beads at $5 pr string, this we never shall obtain, the market has already been stocked, and the highest offer we have had has been one dollar. The cordials also, we might sell the whole at two dollars pr bottle, but the Invoice tells us that is only cost.

Capt. Grimes has returned in the schooner from California, he has done as well as might have been expected, his goods were not fit for that market, he has brought back in skins and money about $7000 and not expended 2000 $ of his cargo, had he have had proper articles he would have made a great voyage.

The *Inore* is sold and I am sorry to say for 3700 piculs of wood, we were obliged to close at that price, knowing that other vessels were on their passage to be sold here for what they would fetch what could be done with her however I know not, she has not even a single rope to set a steering sail, not a pound of provisions, not a single

man belonging to her, could we have obtained no more than 200 piculs we should have been obliged to have sold her for that.

The major part of the *Paragon's* cargo is disposed of, the large guns, muskets, powder and hollow ware, will be a dead sett. Rum and Cloth are the only articles in demand and even those articles pay only a moderate profit. The *Paragon* may possibly sail from here in twenty or thirty days, she has now on board nearly 4000 piculs and we are using our endeavors to make up the 5000, when I trust she will be off. By the tenor of your letter to Capt. Brown you seem to calculate on 100.000 $ in Canton this season, I think you will be fortunate indeed if your funds equal half that amount. I am fearful that wood will be a drug this year, owing to the large quantity that has gone down. Times I believe are as hard here as they are at home, the days for making a voyage to the S. Islands have past, the natives are now too much enlightened, they know well the value of every article, if they do not there are plenty of canting, hypocritical missionaries to enform them, even though unasked. It must be a long time before your business at these Islands will be closed, we have been obliged to trust them, and now we have got to fight for our pay.

Tamoree yet remains at this Island, he appears to have lost all his former activity and energy, relapsed into a state of stupidity and idleness. Carhamano his consort, is just emerging from a fit of sickness which brought her to death's door, she now appears only the shadow of what she formerly was. King Rheo Rheo is now at the Hedus, Owhyhee, he is expected here every day, you might as well however calculate on the wind. Two Russian discovery ships are now at anchor in this port, they are in want of nothing but wine and gin; had you have invested a few thousand dollars in the former article we might have sold it for money two hundred per cent

The small schooner which was built at Atöoi, is now here, she is finished in a most elegant manner, and reflects credit on Capt. Masters and the carpenter. Tamoree has consented to let Cox buy her, and we are about closing with him for 1200 piculs, which will be a good price for her, they are both beautiful vessels.

A great mistake has been made in sending so few men in the new Brig. Capt. Grimes will be obliged to ship whoever he can get, good or bad and at high wages; all vessels on the coast now have got double crews; the Brig *Frederick*, Capt. Stetson sailed from here yesterday, who came to these Islands from the Coast, for the purpose only of getting more men for himself and Capt. Clark, he has taken away about twenty. I trust you will have a ship here by September next, otherwise I do not know how we shall get the wood down, to

pay two dollars a picul freight is too much, none will take it for less. By the *Paragon* I shall write you every particular, Your Obdt. Servt.

J C Jones, Jr.

Woahoo, Sandwich Islands, January 22d, 1822.

. . . . . .

We have now owed us at the Islands over 13,000 piculs, this will take some time to collect, especially at Atooi, but I have no fear but we shall eventually obtain all; the circumstance of Tamoree's coming up here and his marriage with Carhamano, has been of accountable injury to our cause, he remains here still, almost afraid to say his soul's his own, whenever he speaks of going to Atooi, his lady is immediately taken ill, he told me in confidence a few days since, that he was miserable, and wished the devil had Carhamano. whether they ever intend he should return is hard to say, some think not, the ways of these people are past finding out. Not long since I had a conversation with Rheo Rheo on the subject, I told him how anxious Tamoree was to return, reminding him of the large debt he was owing, he replied he was at liberty to go when he pleased, and if he could not pay his debts himself, he would, he would pay them for him.

The last accounts we have from Atooi, all the Chiefs and people had returned to the mountains to cut wood. Tamoree's former quean now rules at Atooi, the Brig is called hers, and she holds herself obligated to pay for it, we have her name to the obligation. As I have written you before our most bitter and professed enemy at Atooi is Mr. George Tamoree, one of the most finished rascals the Islands offers. his last act of villany has completely established him infamy; Capt. Masters came up here the last week his dwelling houses having been destroyed by fire, and who do you think was the incendiary, no one less than Mr. George Tamoree and merely because Capt. Marsters denied him a bottle of gin; the amount of property destroyed including officers wearing apparrel, &c., we estimated at 2500$ I immediately called on King Tamoree in an official manner stated to him the circumstance, and demanded redress, he was convinced of the magnitude of the crime and his responsibility for the loss, accordingly he promised to make good the amount destroyed; 250 piculs of wood have been put on board the *Paragon* to satisfy that demand. I expect to have a great deal of trouble and difficulty with Mr. George, I shall not give him any quarter. we have concluded it is best not to have any agent at Atooi as it will be an unnecessary expense, as fast as the wood shall be

brought from the mountains we shall transport it in the Schr. to this Island. There is now a communication between this place and Atooi about once a week. Capt. Babcock and myself remain as your agents, and I trust at all times we shall be able to give you satisfaction, and succeed to your expectations; I shall return myself the next year. I hope to see a ship from you by August next. Mr. Ellwell returns in the *Paragon*. Your Obdt Servt.

J C Jones, Jr.

Capt. Eliah Grimes to Marshall & Wildes.

In my last communication I mentioned California being more suitable for the Schooner than the NWN Coast, which has proved to be the case, as Capt. Stetson has been obliged to return to these Islands for armament and men for both vessels and says a vessel cannot cruise on that coast without a large compliment. . . .

[I] believe it best to combine both coasts in one that is the NW Coast from the month of February until August when the fishing comes on, leave there for California and cruise there until December, then leave for the Sandwich Islands, where I shall meet some one of your vessels, giving you such information as is necessary, in so doing I am confident it will be much more profitable and much less risk than being on the NW Coast in the winter season. I will here give you a short account of what was sold in California and what returns $1938.42 cts amount of goods sold. Cash $4294.41 cts. skins $656.07 cts. this will give you an idea what may be done on the Coast with a good selections of goods to the amount of from ten to fifteen thousand dollars. I am in hopes to get about four thousand dollars from Canton by Capt. Meek who goes down this season and returns the next to Norfolk sound, such articles as are wanted very much and may be got cheaper there than any where else, should that be the case I shall be well provided for both coasts next season, we are fitting the Brig with all possible dispatch and will sail soon as ready, in my next letter by Capt. Brown I shall be more particular respecting California I beg you will not be displeased in sending this letter under cover to Capt. Pratt as we believe some letters have been opened. Yours with esteem,

Eliah Grimes.

John Coffin Jones, Jr., to Marshall & Wildes.

Woahoo, August 10th, 1822.

In February last I chartered the Schooner *Eagle* to Wm. H Davis for 1500 dollars, to proceed to Fannings Island in the Latitude 3′ 46″

N Longitude 149″ west. this trip she performed in forty days and brought back to Capt. Davis 120 piculs Beach De Lamar, the earnings of 12 months. The settlers of Fannings Island find that nothing will grow on the Island. Hogs, Goats and Fowls die immediately. Capt. Davis has since chartered an English Cutter to carry them provissions, she returned a few days since, this I think will be a losing business: The Brig *Quil* has been laying here all summer and done nothing, they have endeavored to sell the Brig and Cargo, but have not succeeded, I understand she is going to China for a cargo for the Spanish Main. The Ship *Tartar* returned here in May from Canton with a small China Investment; which she has sold to advantage: The King has also paid all but about 800 piculs of what was due for the *Barge* and has declined paying any more, and the *Barge* has proved good for nothing, every timber aloft her mainmast is so defective that you can pull out any of her bolts with your fingers, her transom, &c. is all punk. she is now hauled up and condemned and will never leave the harbour again. So much for the famous *Barge*. Sturgis [1] may hang up his fiddle here, it is a fortunate thing that the *Barge* did not belong to our concern.

The Brig *Arab* Capt. Meek arrived here in June last from China with a full cargo part intended for the Russians and part for here she disposed of most of her cargo here and sailed in July for Norfolk Sound. The Brig *Pedlar* of New York is here with a China Cargo last from the Russian Settlement. she took 10.000 seal Skins; he will dispose of the remainder of his cargo here in time. The English government have sent to the King of the Sandwich Islands a present of a Schooner of 50 Tons, this has made the English popular and been of much injury to the American Trade.

During the summer the harbour has been crowded with whale ships, not less say than sixty; this has consequently made provisions scarce and dear, hogs twelve dollars, nothing but money, potatoes $3 per barrel, no tarrou to be had. We are now obliged to pay money for every thing we use, and glad to get it for that; our trade is nearly exhausted; we had hoped ere this that a ship agreeable to promise would have been sent here by you, had one arrived here in June with the frames of one or two schooners, some calicoes, cloths, liquors, &c., we should have made a handsome thing of it, our concern stands at present higher than any other, they say we have sold them good vessels and good goods and they will buy of us in preference to any other. The house at this Island is finished above and handsomely finished but I do not think it will sell for any profit. All our boards are expended, consequently we can do nothing with

[1] William Sturgis of the firm Bryant & Sturgis.

the house at Atoi. The carpenters are now employed building a boat and doing some work for Mr. Pitt. the Tailor about pays his way and is a useful man. I have purchased of Capt. De Koven 200 Sheets of Copper at 40 cents pr pound, we expect to have the Job of repairing the *Bordeaux Packet.* I can sell the copper at any time for 65 cents.

Woahoo, Oct. 10th, 1822.

. . . . . .

The Schooner *Eagle* as I informed you by the *Houqua* I had sent to the Coast of California with a small cargo for the purpose of collecting a cargo of beef, &c., and had also made an arrangement with Capt. Wm. H Davis (having recd. information by Mr. Don Arismenda the agent of the Phillippian Company who touched here in an English Brig that the *Cossack* Brig was at St. Barbary [1] owned by the same scoundrel, who took possession of her, that in case the Schr. *Eagle* fell in with the *Cossack* she might take possession of her, if possible and bring her to this port, for which, whether she took her or not, he was to pay me two thousand dollars, and in case she took her in addition one half the vessel for the owners of schr. she went accordingly to Monterray and salted her beef, &c. here a boat's crew deserted. she then went to St. Barbary where she sent a boat on board the *Cossack* and took possession and both vessels got underweigh; the wind dying away a heavy swell set the schr. into the Kelp from which they had not strength to extricate her, she struck and her mainmast went over the side, in the morning the Spainards had collected in great numbers and boarded her, Capt. Rogers and crew left her and went on board the *Cossack,* which vessel is now here with a cargo of wheat. The two thousand dollars I shall send by the *Cossack;* and the proportion of the vessel and cargo I shall dispose of on the best terms and remit the proceeds; the schr. will have sold to a good profit, she was destitute of every thing, her copper entirely off, her masts not sea worthy and leaking bad, she would cost more to have repaired her, than she was worth, she had been to us a bill of expense. I know not if you will censure me for this enterprise, I can only say I did it with the best motives and to make you if possible some money, Capt Rogers will go on board the *Parthian* as chief officer, as Capt. Brewster has broke Mr Adams. . . .

The King and most of the Royal family are now at Woahoo, Tamoree and Carharmano have gone to Atoi. Some talk of a revolution here. they say that Tamoree is to be King of all the Islands and Carhamano Queen, they have a strong party in their

[1] Santa Barbara.

favor, should any thing of the kind happen I shall endeavor to keep on the strongest side, at present I have no fears and I think I can assure you that your affairs stand here in as favorable situation as possible, I do not fear what any adventures can do to us, we have been tried and now stand firm.

The *Inore* and *Tammahourelanne* both prove good vessels, they are much pleased with them and the *Neo* they call their best vessel. Provisions of every description continue high, and nothing but dollars will command hogs, goats, &c. there are no less than six whalers in the harbour at this time, all of them wanting fresh supplies; . . .

If you can obtain a quantity of feathers, red, black white, &c., they will do well and I think it would be a good plan to send the King and Queen a present of some value. They ask after Oherry and wish to see him much. Mr. Marshall Jr [1] is here and well I find him a pleasant companion, much the gentleman and perfectly correct in all his deportment.

I shall go to Atooi in the *Parthian* in ten days from this, her cargo is landed and debenture certificate enclosed: also Obed Wyer's dft on his owners and acct merchandize in Schr. Your Obdt. St.

J. C. Jones, Jr.

Martin Brewster to Marshall & Wildes.

Woahoo, Oct. 11th, 1822.

Dear Sirs, — I take the opportunity to inform you by the way of Canton in Case you should not receive those by the *Spermo* and Nantucket whalemen, We arrived here in 117 days from the time we weighed anchor till we came too at Woahoo. We have had fine weather but light winds, we crost the line in the Pacific Ocean in one hundred days, my crew have behaved very well as yet, but I expect they will get corrupted in this place for the off scourings of the earth is here and every ship has had more or less trouble with their men. The officers, the second is a good man, the first has deserted the ship; a few days before we arrived I broke him for refusing to obey my orders; after we arrived I offered to settle but he refused to settle and left the ship. . . .

Martin Brewster.

[1] Josiah Thompson Marshall (1803–75), eldest son of Josiah. He was frequently a supercargo in his father's vessels. He is said to have visited China five times before he was 21 years of age, and to have been one of the first Americans to dine with the Emperor. He was later active in the temperance movement, and the "underground railroad." Frank Burnside Kingsbury, *Marshall Family Record* (Keene, N. H., 1913), 11.

JOHN COFFIN JONES, JR., TO MARSHALL & WILDES.

WOAHOO, Nov. 16th, 1822.

. . . . . .

The lumber by the *Parthian* will not be sufficient to build the house at Atooi, nor do I think it would be well to undertake it; Tamoree owes more than he will pay for a length of time, and the natives do not like that Americans should erect wooden houses, for they are quite jealous of the Yankees; it is my present intention to send all the mecanicks home in the *Parthian*, provissions are too scarce, living too expensive to make them any object, and the trouble they give is immense; there are too many allurements and temptations to lead them astray, perhaps you will not credit it, when I tell you there are now on this Island, seventeen established grog shops kept by white people, and not less than one hundred deserters from different whale ships; Woahoo is becoming one of the vilest places on the globe, and if something is not soon done, murder and theft will be the order of the day, for my own part it will be the happiest day in my life, when I leave this miserable corner of the globe.

[OAHU,] Nov. 22d, 1822.

. . . . . .

I have only a moment to spare as the *Balaena* is under weigh. The Brig *Pearl* has this moment arrived from Norfolk Sound, she had been at the Sound about twenty days and endeavoring to sell her cargo, when a Russian vessel arrived from Kamschatka with dispatches for the governor, from the emperor of Russia, the Brig *Pearl* was immediately ordered to leave the port, not even permitted to take from the shore some articles which she had there, they claim the right to all the Coast and are determined to capture all vessels if taken after they shall be ordered off; two vessels at the sound received orders to be fitted immediately and armed, to proceed up and down the coast to cruise for the shipping. Capt. Stevens in the *Pearl* informs that the day after he left the Sound, he fell in with the Russian frigate *Apollo* of 32 guns, she was bound into the Sound and thence on to the Coast where she was to remain to capture all vessels and carry them to Kamschatka for trial. I hope our government will not suffer our valuable trade on the North-West-Coast to be taken from us, by a nation who but a few years since were but a race of barbarians. Your Obdt. Servt.

J. C. JONES, JR.

WOAHOO, Dec., 1822.

. . . . . .

His majisty the King is at this moment dangerously ill. Old Karhamano is at Atooi and Messrs Pitt and Boka sail tomorrow if possible to bring her ladyship to this Island. there appears to be some fears that Karhamano and Tamoree intend to take possession of the Islands. I am endeavouring to make them believe this will be the case in order that we may sell our powder and muskets. All our debts are safe and our concern stands No 1. I shall write you by the *Parthian*. Your Obed Servt.

JOHN C. JONES, JR.

WOAHOO, Jany., 1823.

. . . . . .

The ship *Mentor* of Boston is here doing nothing, also the Brig *Pearl*, which vessel was ordered from the Coast by the Russians. also Schr's *Rover* and *Ann* of Boston the latter just arrived, they will do nothing. I consider myself that the time has passed for making a voyage to the Sandwich Islands, articles have got to such low prices, and the heavy expense attending it have rendered the trade here of little or no object. I do not advise you to send much property here what you do send let it be good, such as superfine cloths, ready made clothes and shirts, Calicoes of every description, Rum, wine and gin, handsome feathers, some good hats, and shoes of large and small sizes; ladies Bonnets and gowns, large size different patterns say of silk, calico, Cambrick, &c., sea coal, lumber copper, plank paints, and rigging, wheel Barrows, hand carts, light waggons, ox carts, and large size 4 wheel waggons, leather trunks covered with red leather, different sizes tables, cheap writing desks, table cloths, &c., &c. . . .

one article I have forgot to mention that I think would sell here that is a quantity of pumps and gear as wells are now all the rage, indeed you can hardly move in the night without walking into a well. The King too is very anxious to have a billiard table, one that you might get for two hundred dollars would command at least 1500$. If a steam boat could be brought here it would command any price, the King and Pitt say they would give any price for one, in fact any thing that is new would sell here. I think it would be a good plan to send the King and Mr Pitt, also Tamore, some valuable present, it will go a great ways; they have conducted thus far very fair and are deserving of praise. . . .

Woahoo, March 9th, 1823.
(pr Brig *Pearl*)

. . . . . .

The articles in demand now are fine calicoes and Cambricks, silks, ladies shoes, large size, good hats, ready made clothes, shirts, ladies bonnets, different patterns, any quantity would sell, shawls scarfs, gowns, ribbon handsome patterns, large size cheap trunks, Furniture, superfine Broadcloth and Cassimere, damask table cloth and cloth do, many articles also might be selected of a showy kind that would answer well, a few ladies lace caps and articles of those description would find quick sale; if you could send a miliner here she would be a profitable person. We are employed at present in building a 30 foot boat for the King, which he wants for his royal barge; shall afterwards finish the lower part of the House, and hope when the *Paragon*[1] arrives she will bring a large quantity of lumber also the frame of a boat. The King and all the Royal family are now here, his majesty is just recovering from a severe illness, and it is the opinion of the physicians that a similar attack would carry him of, his debauches have ruined his constitution. The Royal family are contemplating a visit to the Marquesas and Othaeite, but whether they will undertake it is hard to say, but am inclined to think they will, I shall use my endeavour if possible to prevent it.

Trade never will again flourish at these Islands until these missionaries from the Andover mill are recalled, they are continually telling the King and Chiefs that the white people traders are cheating and imposing on them, consequently have depreciated the value of most articles. I believe it is a fact generally acknowledged by all here, that the natives are fifty per cent worse in every vice since the missionaries began their hypocritical labour here; these blood suckers of the community had much better be in their native country gaining their living by the sweat of their brow, than living like lords in this luxurious land, distracting the minds of these children of Nature with the idea that they are to be eternally damned unless they think and act as they do: and that Providence would put a whip in every honest hand to lash such rascals naked through the world. The Brig *Arab* [Capt.] Meek is now at Owhyhee endeavoring to collect wood, he intends going to China and return this season. The Brig *Pearl* by whom you receive this will I think make a most ruinous voyage, indeed she must sink every thing. The harbour is now filled with

[1] The *Paragon* on this voyage included in her crew Charles Brewer, who later became the leading merchant of Honolulu, and as second mate and sailmaker, John Dominis of Boston, who later became her master and whose son married Princess Liliuokalani, later Queen of the islands.

whale ships, not less than eighteen, provisions consequently scarce and dear, we have also here on shore all the crews of two whale ships lately wrecked the *Lion* and the *Two Brothers* of Nantucket.

JOHN C. JONES, JR.

WOAHOO, May 31, 1823.

. . . . . .

A cargo should consist of an assortment of every thing, no great quantity of any one article, were I at home myself I could select an outfit that would do well. Ox teams, light waggons, hand carts, wheel barrows, carriages, and one or two of those vehicles call'd barrouches, two or three chaises. you might be surprised that such articles would sell, but you would be more surprised to see how fast these people are advancing towards civilization, only two days since Mr Pitt asked me to send for three carriages and have them adorned with gold, every thing new and elegant will sell and at a good profit, coarse articles are of no use. . . .

J. C. JONES, JR.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. BOWDITCH, LORD, W. S. BIGELOW, AGASSIZ and NORCROSS.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the PRESIDENT, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Caroline Carter, of Boston, a volume of sermons, preached 1743 to 1799, owned by William Smith (H. C., 1775), a merchant of Boston. Mr. Smith married a sister of Miss Carter's grandfather, Thomas Carter.

From Miss Louisa Williams Case and Miss Marian Roby Case, of Weston, a copy of "Hoyle's Games Improved." By James Beaufort. Boston, 1796.

From the estate of Henry F. Jenks, a copy of "Introductio ad lectionem Linguarum Orientalium." London, 1654. Its interest is in its ownership by three former members of the Society.

From Miss Eleanor Goddard May, executrix of the will of Julia Goddard, of Brookline, a number of papers of Major William Dawes, the patriot, running from 1727 to 1799, including some Boston deeds, and a commission to Dawes as adjutant of the regiment of militia in Boston.

From Mr. Wendell, his account of Lee, Higginson and Company, 1848 to 1918, written in November and December, 1918, mostly from notes made at different times by Major Higginson; and copies of two letters from him, giving the sanction of his approval of the account, written on October 25, and on November 25, 1919, the latter dictated on the day of his death.

From Mr. Joseph F. Sabin, a letter of W. Vans Murray to Mr. John Luzac, dated at The Hague, February 11, 1800.

By purchase, several deeds and papers of the Dow Family, of Hampton, N. H., 1729–1782.

By deposit, from Mr. Endicott, a collection of English and American autographs.

From George L. Shepley, of Providence, three photostats of originals in his collection, of "a Perpetual Almanack," a broadside, printed at Newport, by James Franklin, 1731; of a poster announcing the sale by Henry Barber, at Newport, October 30, 1780, of Benjamin West's North American Calendar or Almanack, 1781; and of a ticket

inviting Miss Rebecca Carter to an Exhibition in the College Chapel, Rhode Island College, December 29, 1794, signed by "Talmadge."[1]

Dr. Robert M. Lawrence presented, with brief remarks, the diary of his grandfather the Rev. Samuel Dana, of Marblehead, in 1849.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From the Glenn H. Curtiss Aeroplane and Motor Corporation, Garden City, Long Island, N. Y., a bronze medal struck to commemorate the first transatlantic flight, May 31, 1919.

From Edmund Burke Delabarre, of Providence, a photograph of Dighton Rock taken by him on July 17, 1920, at 3 A.M.

From the estate of Mrs. Jane Norton Grew, through Mr. Appleton, a medal commemorating the siege of the Bastile, 1789, struck on hard leather.

From William George Arthur Turner, of Malden, a photograph of an Aaron Willard clock owned by Mr. Alfred Lyman Gooch, of Wakefield, and of the engraved directions for the care of the clock; also an engraved notice of meetings of "The New Century Fire Society," Boston, 1800, struck from a copper plate owned by Mr. Turner.

From Mr. Ernest Adolph Von Arnim, of Arizona, a Muybridge photograph of "Sallie Gardner," a horse owned by Leland Stanford, taken in Palo Alto, California, in 1878.

By purchase, four photographs of paintings by Robert Salmon in the Peabody Museum, Salem: Liverpool, England, from Cheshire; the ship "Liverpool," said to have been built in Medford, 1828; the ship "United States," 1817; and a view of a "French Lugger attacking a British cruiser."

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Elihu Root, of New York, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The President reported from the Council the appointment of a standing Library Committee of three and the designation of Messrs. STANWOOD, EMERTON, and BOLTON as the members of that committee.

Harold Clarence Ernst, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

David Jayne Hill, of Washington, D. C., was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. WENDELL gave "A Glimpse of the Ninth Century,"

[1] James Tallmadge (1778–1853) was a member of the Class of 1798.

being his rendering of Egenhard's account of a journey from Odenwald in Germany to Rome to obtain relics of the martyrs, Marcellinus and Peter.

Mr. Mayo read the following paper on

The King's Woods.

As early as 1652 the British government began to realize that the pine forests of New England were among its most valuable assets in the New World, for they assured the royal navy of an almost inexhaustible supply of masts.[1] The colonists, too, seem to have taken pride in this product. Soon after the Restoration, Massachusetts presented a few splendid specimens of New England timber to the King, and in 1668 the General Court passed a significant measure reserving for the public use all pine trees fit for masts growing in a stated part of the town of Exeter — New Hampshire being at that time under the jurisdiction of the Bay Colony.[2] This measure of conservation seems to have been voluntary on the part of our ancestors, who were then governing themselves under the Charter of 1628–29, but they were not long to retain control of their tall white pines. When the new charter was issued in 1691, it contained a clause reserving to his Majesty all pine trees of twenty-four inches or more in diameter, growing on land not heretofore granted to any private persons, and a fine of £100 was the penalty for cutting any such tree without the royal license. Just who was responsible for this unwelcome innovation it is difficult to ascertain, but there are indications that it was Sir William Phips, who was then in London, about to be appointed governor of Massachusetts and glad to make himself useful to the Lords of Trade and Plantations.[3]

Whoever may have been its author, this clause of the charter meant that if a Massachusetts colonist received a grant of land at any time in the future he would not acquire title to any of the large pine trees growing thereon. At first this restriction applied only to Massachusetts, but Parliament gradually extended the principle to all the colonies by statutes enacted in

[1] *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1574–1660*, 392–393.
[2] Shurtleff's *Massachusetts Records*, IV. part 2, 318, 327, 368, 384.
[3] *Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1689–1692*, 528.

1710, 1721, and 1729,[1] and expanded its scope until it included all pine trees of whatever dimensions growing upon land that had not been laid out in townships. This preserved the pines of the great ungranted wilderness, "the King's woods," and as new townships were carved out of the interior this conservation was continued to a certain extent by a clause in the town charters. In New York this clause reserved as crown property all pines of twenty-four inches or more in diameter; in New Hampshire the reservation applied to "all white and other pine trees, fit for masting our royal navy." These remained a part of the King's woods, and he who cut, felled or destroyed them without leave must pay a heavy penalty.

The guardianship of this timber was entrusted to a crown officer entitled the surveyor general of his Majesty's Woods, who was usually assisted by four deputies. In his commission the surveyor general was instructed to explore the woods "at all convenient times and seasons," and to mark with the broad arrow of the British government all pines that showed promise of being useful to the navy. In this way the grantee of the land might know what timber was the property of the Crown, and should cut or spare accordingly. Furthermore the surveyor general was expected to keep a register of all these trees and thus to be able to produce a given number of sticks whenever the admiralty might call upon him to do so. To expect any officer and his four assistants to make an index of all the promising pine trees in the American colonies was unreasonable, to say the least, but doubtless the lords of the admiralty thought in terms of English forests and issued their instructions accordingly. Instead of carrying out the letter of these directions the surveyor general pursued an easier method and accomplished the same end. In New Hampshire, at any rate, he required the landholder to obtain a permit from him before cutting any pines. This involved a survey of the property, for which the surveyor general or his deputy received a fee of fourteen shillings a day.[2] When the survey was completed the owner of the soil was given a certificate which allowed him to cut certain trees which showed no indications of ever being useful to the navy. The rest he must continue to respect as

[1] 9 Anne, Cap. 17; 8 George I. Cap. 12, § 5; 2 George II. Cap. 35, §§ 1 and 2.
[2] Benjamin Homer Hall's *History of Eastern Vermont*, 1. 146.

the property of the Crown. In addition to perquisites acquired in this manner the surveyor general received a salary of £200 per annum,[1] and a traveling allowance of six shillings eight pence per diem. Each of his deputies received £100 and the same traveling allowance as his chief.

Offhand one might suppose that when the admiralty needed a given number of masts for the navy they would have issued an order to the surveyor general of his Majesty's woods, who would have had the trees cut and shipped to London as economically as possible. But this was not the eighteenth-century method of conducting government business. A contract was made by the admiralty with some fortunate firm, and instructions were sent to the surveyor general to grant their agent a license to cut and haul the required number of masts. The surveyor general, of course, determined in what part of the King's woods the timber should be procured. Usually the contractors were Englishmen, and their agents Americans; and almost invariably both contractors and agents found the business unmistakably remunerative. From the account books of Mark Hunking Wentworth of Portsmouth, who was an agent for the contract, we learn that a seventy-five-foot mast brought about £14, and a hundred-foot mast about £90. Since the cost of cutting and transporting was the contractor's only expense, except perhaps a generous fee to the surveyor general or to the deputy who supervised the felling of the trees, the profit on an order for fifteen hundred tall masts must have been decidedly worth while. Just what proportion went to the agent does not appear, but Mr. Wentworth was reputed to be one of the richest men in New England.

The best timber in America grew in the Province of Maine, and along the west bank of the Connecticut, in what we now call Vermont. Some of these trees were one hundred and fifty feet tall and measured as much as six feet in diameter. But the tallest pines were not always the best, as is indicated in the following contemporaneous account which was written by an intelligent and observant surveyor general.

In cutting trees for masts the greatest care is taken to select the best and fairest timber; yet many, very many trees prove rotten or

[1] *New Hampshire State Papers*, VI. 914–915.

are sprung in falling. In trees of the largest size, fit to make 34 to 38 inch masts, 48 out of 50 may happen to be defective, although while standing they appeared to be perfectly sound. Such large trees must, of course, be very old and thence subject to decay in the heart of the wood. This season the mast-cutters for his Majesty's contract found in one district a fine growth of large and uncommonly fair trees. But upon cutting them, 102 out of 106 proved to be rotten in the heart and not worth a shilling, upon which a protest was made to save the penalty of the contract, which by this defect the contractor was unable to fulfil.

Even when sound, a giant pine was often an embarrassment to the contractor because of the difficulty in handling it. Our informant takes pains to explain,

Some very good trees are broke in falling, nor is it possible to prevent it. Trees of 45 or 50 yards long, and from 4 to 6 feet in diameter, are of such immense weight it is almost beyond the power of man to use any secure management in lowering them. Much is done by bedding with bushes and small trees to help secure them, but notwithstanding there still remains a very great risque. The mast workmen, hired to do this work, are paid by contract for the number of trees they fall, for which they get but small prices, so they will not be prevailed upon to bestow much time on the necessary preparations for securing the trees in falling.[1]

After a pine was successfully felled it was hewn into the proper shape for a mast, the standard proportions being a yard in length for every inch in diameter at the butt; and when a sufficient number of these sticks were assembled, they were shipped to England. The vessels which carried such cargoes across the Atlantic were a picturesque element in provincial life, particularly in New Hampshire which was the center of the trade. Ships built to carry from sixty to one hundred trees [2] were necessarily larger than their companions on the sea, and six or seven of them riding at anchor in the Piscataqua were a splendid spectacle.

As might have been expected, the colonists did not take kindly to this royal reservation of pine trees growing on land

[1] John Wentworth to the Earl of Hillsborough, December 4, 1771. References cited in this manner are to the transcripts of Governor Wentworth's letter-books in the archives at Concord, New Hampshire.

[2] John Wentworth to the Commissioners of the Navy, October 25, 1774.

granted to them. Those who were forbidden to cut timber of large dimensions frequently found that a King's tree, by the shade of its boughs and the thirst of its roots, seriously interfered with the cultivation of the soil. This was annoying, to say the least, for the landholder's only course was to hope that before long the obstruction would be needed for the navy. Far worse was the lot of those who might fell no pines whatever without permission from the surveyor general. It was not always easy to persuade this officer to survey a tract of land in a remote part of the frontier. And although it might be obvious to the landholder that the timber he wished to cut could never be of use to the admiralty, he would undoubtedly get into trouble if he took the law into his own hands. Even trees blown down by winter storms must lie where they fell until passed upon by the authorities. In the meantime the wood often rotted and became useless to either the government or the individual. The temptation to trespass upon the King's woods, therefore, was great, and a corresponding degree of vigilance on the part of the surveyor general was necessary. He was authorized to seize and libel all timber which had been cut without his license, but condemnation of the property rested with the nearest admiralty court. After being condemned the timber was sold at auction where it lay, the proceeds going to the surveyor general.[1]

It was usually easier to seize the stolen timber than to discover the trespasser. But when the officer was so fortunate as to catch the offender red-handed he might file a complaint in the admiralty court, as a result of which the victim would be arrested in due course — if in the meantime he had not taken care to disappear into the wilderness. Prosecutions against individuals must be instituted within six months of the time when the offence was committed, and the penalty was either a fine (for which his personal property could be seized) or imprisonment for not more than twelve months. From the decision of the local admiralty court one had the right to appeal to the High Court of Admiralty in England, but protracted litigation of this kind was, of course, beyond the financial means of the average colonist.

Besides preserving the pine trees of the north, the surveyor

[1] John Wentworth to Durand and Bacon, July 17, 1769.

general was supposed to encourage the production of tar, hemp, and other naval stores throughout the colonies. These secondary duties were soon lost sight of, however, especially after it became customary to give the office to the governor of New Hampshire. This practice was commenced in 1731, when an Irishmen named David Dunbar was appointed to both offices. Previous to Dunbar's time the New Englanders had conceived a hearty dislike for the crown officer who forbade their felling trees suitable for masts,[1] but probably Dunbar should have the distinction of being the first surveyor general to make the office ridiculous. One unfortunate day he sent a number of men by water to Exeter, where they were to remove a pile of lumber which he had seized and libeled. At first all went well, but while his crew were taking their ease at a public house a party of Yankees, disguised as Indians, made a surprise attack, gave them a good beating, and so wrecked their boat that they were obliged to return to Portsmouth on foot.[2]

Benning Wentworth, who was governor of New Hampshire from 1741 till 1767, paid £2000 for his appointment as guardian of the King's woods,[3] but apparently that was the last serious thought he gave to the service. During his administration the surveyor general and the backwoodsmen were on the best of terms, but it is to be feared that a good many pine trees were lost to the admiralty in those twenty-five years. The efficiency of his stewardship may be guessed from the fact that at least one of his deputies resided comfortably in Ireland.[4] By 1766 conditions had become so scandalous that Benning Wentworth was relieved of his two offices, which were given to his nephew John, the last royal governor of New Hampshire.

At the time of his appointment John Wentworth was a vigorous young man, not yet thirty years old, and he was determined to make the conservation of the King's woods an actuality. To execute these laws after a quarter of a century of non-enforcement was not an easy task, but the new sur-

[1] For an account of earlier troubles between the colonists and the surveyor general see Palfrey's *History of New England*, IV. 396–402.

[2] Belknap's *History of New Hampshire*, II. 112–113.

[3] *New Hampshire State Papers*, XVIII. 566.

[4] John Wentworth to Col. John Bradstreet, Nov. 2, 1767.

veyor general was as tactful as he was resolute, and he accomplished much more than one would have believed possible. In order to give the people fair warning he caused proclamations to be posted in conspicuous places throughout the frontier towns of Maine, New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Although he did not publish the fact, it was his plan not to prosecute trespassers for offenses committed in the past, but to hold them accountable for the observance of the statutes in the future. Apparently this plan worked well, for at the end of twelve months Wentworth declared that not one hundredth part of the usual destruction had occurred during the first year of his administration. Furthermore, he claimed that he had led the people from hostility to friendliness towards his office.[1] This was true of the law-abiding part of the population without doubt, since he showed remarkable consideration for their feelings. For instance, when he licensed the cutting of pine trees growing on private property, in order to fill a requisition for the navy, he invariably took care that the owner of the soil should be given preference in hauling and delivering them to the contractor.[2] Thus whatever resentment a Yankee might feel at the royal appropriation was assuaged by the jingle of coin in his pocket as he drove his oxen home from the river. On the other hand Wentworth met serious opposition on more than one occasion, two instances of which are worth recounting because they illustrate both the methods employed by the surveyor general and the spirit exhibited by our ancestors.

In the spring of 1769, word reached Wentworth that sundry persons in the vicinity of Brunswick, Maine, were cutting white pine trees of large dimensions in the King's woods. Thereupon he directed his deputy in that part of the country to investigate and, if the report proved to be true, to seize the timber. The deputy went to Brunswick and found the destroyed trees, but seizing the logs was a different matter. The trespassers so terrified him "by their violent menaces" that he decided to withdraw and to report the situation to his chief. According to his account the men of Brunswick threatened death to anyone who should presume to seize their

[1] John Wentworth to the Earl of Hillsborough, June 25, 1768.
[2] John Wentworth to Judge Morris, October 5, 1769.

spoils. This was just enough to stimulate all the Wentworth blood in the surveyor general's veins, and he declared that he would go to the Androscoggin and execute the law himself.[1] Commodore Hood, who was in American waters at that time, detailed the sloop of war *Beaver* to bear him to the eastward, whither he sailed in late July. Arriving at the mouth of the "Wiscasset River," Wentworth carefully divested himself of all military and naval assistance. Accompanied only by an assistant deputy, a servant, and a boatman, none of whom was armed, he was conveyed "through many rivers" to the saw-mills on the Androscoggin, "where all the logs had floated together." Then without delay he notified the people of his business and invited them to meet him on the riverbank. At the appointed time they assembled from far and near, attracted no doubt by the prospect of a little excitement. With them, at the request of the surveyor general, came a justice of the peace.

When the crowd had gathered, Wentworth talked to them in a straightforward manner, telling them that he was aware of their trespasses and their threats, and that he was resolved to execute the acts of Parliament notwithstanding. Then he read the particular statutes involved and explained the purpose of the government in preserving timber of this kind for the use of the navy. If his hearers were serious in their determination to resist the enforcement of the laws he wished that they would let their opposition begin then and there. Although he had come armed with no power or force except the acts of Parliament, he expected "that the laws would be protection enough for those that were legally executing them."

After a long pause "an old man stepped forth and desired to be heard. He said that the people were poor, depended much upon procuring timber for their subsistence; that they had been under errors, supposing a right to the soil, when actually served to them, gave also a title to the timber of all kinds; but that they now plainly saw the contrary, except in such tracts as were actually improved and legally possessed as private property before the year 1690." After this explanatory preamble he admitted "that it was likely some warm, indiscreet men might say unadvised things about this business," but that Wentworth might rest assured that not one man

[1] John Wentworth to Judge Auchmuty, April 10, 1769.

among them would oppose him or any of his deputies. On the contrary they would aid him at all times, and would attend and guard him while he remained in that region, if he anticipated "the least insult or disrespect. To this speech every man with one voice assented."

Wentworth must have been amazed at this unqualified submission, but he replied with dignity and made it clear that he thought they had chosen the part of wisdom. The rest of the story is best told in his own words, if one is willing to struggle further with his casual construction of sentences.

> I singled out the man who had been the most zealous and warm in this scheme of making the country too hot for officers (as they termed it), and required him to aid and carry me off in his canoe upon the river — my boat could not come up above the falls — and there help me to seize and mark about five hundred logs, which belonged to him and the rest who waited on the banks of the river within thirty yards; which he directly performed, and we returned to the people in whose presence I delivered the logs into the care of the magistrate; and informed them I would stay that night at the inn adjacent, and in the morning consider any claims they might offer for the logs. And they might consider whether they would abide by their present resolutions of obeying the law. In the morning the whole party came to me, and to a man expressed their fixed resolutions the same as the preceding day, — that they surrendered all claim of property in the logs I had seized, which they owned to have cut upon the lesser rivers in the winter preceding.[1]

Apparently Wentworth did not consider it his duty to punish these trespassers except by the seizure and subsequent condemnation of the logs, but in dealing with a group of offenders on the west bank of the Connecticut he pursued a more thorough course. News of their depredations came to Portsmouth in January, 1769, and in spite of "the extreme rigor of the season" the surveyor general set out immediately through the ice and snow with the hope of catching the culprits red-handed. His way led "through a wilderness almost uninhabited," but this had its advantages if one wished to take the enemy by surprise. Near Windsor, Vermont, he came upon them while they were at work in the woods, where they had felled seventeen white pine mast-trees from twenty-eight to forty inches

[1] John Wentworth to the Earl of Hillsborough, October 22, 1770.

in diameter and from eighty to one hundred feet in length. The offenders were a man named Deane and his two sons, William and Willard. Besides the trees lying on the ground there were hundreds of logs in the river. Wentworth seized all this timber, left it under guard and then returned to Portsmouth, "having traveled three hundred miles in excessive cold and snow" in just sixteen days. But this was not the end of the Deane case.

The appropriate court of admiralty for the west bank of the Connecticut River was located at New York. Thither the surveyor general transmitted his information and complaint, for in this case he intended both to recover the timber stolen from his Majesty and to prosecute the trespassers. A warrant for their arrest was issued in due course, but meanwhile the Deane family, aware of their danger, had "absconded into some other provinces" where they concealed themselves successfully. Wentworth was annoyed, but would not admit defeat. He decided to bide his time. It was not unlikely that if he lay low the Deanes would emerge from their seclusion and revisit Windsor, where he would have them seized by the deputy marshal. His guess could not have been better. In the course of a few months William and Willard Deane reappeared, whereupon they were arrested and carried to New York. The father gave himself up soon afterward, and when the next winter set in, the trio found themselves in a jail on Manhattan Island, awaiting trial.

About this time the case became unexpectedly exciting for all concerned. It so happened that a number of rich men in the metropolis owned great tracts of timberland in the interior, but apparently they had never taken the conservation acts of Parliament seriously. Perhaps they had never been aware of their existence. Now, however, the prospect of enforcement so alarmed them that they engaged "a great patriot lawyer," James Duane, and made the case of the trespassers their own. For a few weeks the town seethed with excitement. Agitators declared that the enforcement of the timber-conservation laws would be more injurious to landholders than the Stamp Act. Just why this was so they did not state. Proof of the point was unnecessary, for at the mention of the Stamp Act the hearers invariably lost their reasoning powers and joined the

forces of opposition. As if this were not enough, Judge Wells of Brattleborough came to town and became very active in behalf of the Deanes, whose case, he declared, was pitiable rather than criminal. The longer justice was delayed the less encouraging the situation appeared to Wentworth, but he was careful to proceed slowly lest there should be the additional grievance of an untimely trial. At last the day of judgment arrived. The senior Deane and his two sons were found guilty and were fined in accordance with the statute, a full decree in favor of the Crown being given by Judge Morris.

For a moment Wentworth enjoyed the relief and satisfaction which accompany the successful completion of a difficult job — but only for a moment; for when the government attempted to collect the amount of the fines by selling the private effects of the Deane family, it transpired that the culprits had transferred all their goods and chattels to their friend Judge Wells, and consequently were bankrupt for the time being. This was precisely the intention of Wells when he, perceiving that the case was likely to go against the Deanes, had persuaded them to make him trustee of their personal property. It was a clever manipulation of the law, which evokes admiration for the ingenuity of Judge Wells but hardly for his sense of propriety. Its effect upon John Wentworth was not limited to admiration, however, especially when he learned that his adversary had returned home boasting that the surveyor general would soon sicken of such expensive prosecutions. In the meantime the Deanes remained in "a comfortable gaol" at New York, where they were "supported in affluence" by those who sympathized with their cause.[1]

Wentworth bore the prisoners no malice; neither did he treasure any resentment toward James Duane, the "great patriot lawyer"; but for a crown magistrate who would twist the law of conveyances to defeat the laws for the preservation of mast timber he had unlimited hostility. Whenever he thought of Judge Wells he became righteously indignant, and he determined to run him out of the service. He reported his behavior to the governor of New York and to the authorities in England. From the former he could not have expected much support, for New York and New Hampshire were practi-

[1] John Wentworth to the Earl of Hillsborough, October 22, 1770.

cally at war with each other throughout this period because of their dispute over the New Hampshire Grants, and any man who could defeat the governor of New Hampshire on any issue was looked upon with favor on the west side of the Connecticut. It is not surprising, therefore, that Governor Colden's committee for investigating the behavior of Judge Wells reported that they could not see sufficient cause to advise his removal from office, and embraced the opportunity to include in their remarks an impertinent reference to "the unjustifiable claim of the province of New Hampshire." In England the Colonial Secretary apparently had too much else on his mind to give more than passing notice to Wentworth's complaint, and consequently the surveyor general's attempt to achieve the downfall of Judge Wells came to naught.

The further adventures of the Deane trio deserve mention because they show the kind of human stuff John Wentworth was made of. A few weeks after the conviction the admiralty judge wrote Wentworth that he believed the two young men were not so culpable as their father, and that he was inclined to release them from jail if the surveyor general had no objection. Wentworth not only gave his consent, but added that he hoped the judge would liberate all three, for if "the terror of example" had been effected, as he believed it had, there was no point in adding to the sum of human misery by persecuting these individuals.[1] Thus ended the case of the Deanes, which was probably the most conspicuous prosecution of its kind in the history of the colonies. The decree, as we have seen, was in favor of the Crown, but public opinion was on the side of the landholder, and public opinion was soon to come into its own. Within a decade the Revolution put an end to the humiliating restrictions which our ancestors had so long endured in connection with the preservation of the King's woods.

John Clark of the Mayflower.

Mr. Jameson said:

Miss Irene A. Wright, of Seville, author of *The Early History of Cuba*, sent me from Spain the following twelve docu-

[1] John Wentworth to James Duane, February 15, 1770.

ments. Eleven of them she found in the Archives of the Indies at Seville, and one (No. VI. below) in the Archives of Simancas. They are part of a much larger number which she sent illustrating the policy pursued by Spain with respect to Virginia, in the earliest years of the founding of that colony, 1606–1612. The series supplemented in a valuable manner the group of Spanish transcripts relating to the same period of Virginian history which Alexander Brown printed in his *Genesis of the United States* (1897). Three of the longer of them I printed in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1920 (XXV. 448–479), under the title "Spanish Policy toward Virginia, 1606–1612; Jamestown, Ecija, and John Clark of the *Mayflower*," for two of the three contained depositions made by John Clark, who in 1620 was mate of the *Mayflower*. Miss Wright's introduction discussed abundantly the policy of Spain in respect to Jamestown, and Clark's depositions were chiefly occupied with descriptions of that settlement.

It will perhaps be remembered (details are given by Brown and in the article just referred to) that Clark, who was at Malaga in 1609, sailed from London for Virginia with Sir Thomas Dale in March, 1611, and about June 21 of that year, putting out from Hampton to interview the Spanish caravel that had brought to Virginia Don Diego de Molina, was captured by the crew of that vessel and taken to Havana. There he remained a prisoner until he was taken to Seville and to Madrid in 1612, and he was a prisoner in Spain until January 26, 1616. His examination at Havana took place on July 23, 1611, his examination at Madrid on February 18, 1613. His depositions tell us much about the English settlements in Virginia, but only a little about himself. He says that he was a native of London. There are two significant discrepancies in his testimony. When he arrived in Havana he was "thirty-five years old and of the religion of his King"; a year and a half later, when he got to Spain, older and more prudent, he was forty and a Catholic.

Though Clark's two depositions respecting Jamestown are the most important of Miss Wright's documents relating to him, I have thought that the others, which enable us to trace in some detail the circumstances of his captivity, might be of biographical interest in this year when all that concerns the

Mayflower and those who sailed upon her is of especial interest to students of history. I therefore lay these documents before the Society, accompanied by translations and a few notes. Though *junta* may well be translated council, yet to distinguish the Junta de Guerra de Indias from the Concejo de Estado and other councils, I have uniformly translated *junta* by "Board." Decrees of the King consequent upon representations made by the board and minuted upon those documents, I have put in italics. Dates are uniformly in new style.

I. Report of the Board of War for the Indies, October 31, 1611.[1]

Señor.

El Governador de la havana Don Gaspar Ruiz de pereda escrive a Vuestra magestad en carta de [12 ?] de agosto de este año que a los 24 de Mayo del llegaron a aquel puerto en una caravela el alcaide don diego de molina y el Alferez Marco Antonio perez que por el Consejo de Guerra fueron despachados desde lixboa para yr a reconocer la Virginia (que es en la costa de la florida) y las fuerzas y todo lo demas que alli tienen los ingleses y que cunpliendo con lo que Vuestra Magestad le mando por el dicho Consejo y esta Junta les dio la orden que mejor le parecia y una chalupa y lo demas que huvieron menester para el buen efecto de lo que llebaban a su cargo y proseguir su viaje y que haviendo salido a ellos a los 2 de junio bolvieron la caravela y la chalupa a los 22 de julio con toda la gente y un ingles de los de la Virginia ecepto los dichos alcaide y alferez y un piloto yngles confidente casado en lixboa que llebavan y que deseando averiguar como fue esto y juntamente la capacidad del puerto su entrada y fondo y lo demas que ay en la virginia, tomo su declaracion al ingles que truxeron de alli y al maestre y piloto de la Caravela y a algunos marineros los quales declararon lo que Vuestra magestad siendo servido podra mandar veer por la relacion ynclusa sacada en sustancia de los dichos de todos, en que se ratificaron haviendo buelto a hazer la misma diligencia en presencia del marques de salinas y el licenciado maldonado de torres presidente de la Audiencia de los charcas que viene al Consejo de las Yndias con cuya comunicacion y parezer acordo don gaspar de pereda que el yngles se quedase en la havana a donde estara seguro sin

Conde de salazar.
don diego de ybarra.
don diego brochero.
licenciado don francisco arias maldonado.
doctor bernardo de Olmedilla.
licenciado don francisco de tejada.

[1] Seville, Archivo General de Indias, 147–5–16, Indiferente General, Junta de Guerra, Consultas Originales, Años 1604–1611.

que tenga comunicacion con ninguno de su nacion hasta que Vuestra magestad mande otra cosa. . . .

En madrid a 31 de Octubre de 1611.

[Hay seis rúbricas.]
[En el dorso figura un decreto que dice:] *hagasse lo que parece.*
[Escrito y rubricado por el Rey.]
J. R. DE CONTRERAS.

(Translation.)

MY LORD:

The Governor of Havana, Don Gaspar Ruiz de Pereda, writes to Your Majesty in a letter of August [12?] of this year that on May 24 there came to that port in a caravel the warden Don Diego de Molina and the ensign Marco Antonio Perez, who had been sent by the Council of War from Lisbon to go and reconnoiter Virginia (which is on the coast of Florida) and the armaments and all else that the English have there, and that, complying with what Your Majesty commanded him through the said council and this board, he gave them the orders that seemed to him best, and a shallop and what else they needed for the success of what they undertook, and for the prosecution of their voyage, and that, they having sailed out on June 2, the caravel and the shallop came back on July 22 with all the people and an Englishman from among those in Virginia, excepting the said warden and ensign and an English pilot, a spy, married in Lisbon, whom they [the English] had taken, and that desiring to ascertain how this was, and at the same time the capacity of the harbor, its entrance and depth and all else in Virginia, he took the declaration of the Englishman whom they brought from there and that of the master and pilot of the caravel and those of certain mariners, who declared what Your Majesty, if he pleases, may see by the enclosed relation drawn in substance from what all these said, in which they confirmed each other, (he) having repeated the same procedure in the presence of the Marquis of Salinas and the Licenciado Maldonado de Torres, president of the Audiencia of Charcas, who was coming to the Council of the Indies, with whose communication and opinion Don Gaspar de Pereda agreed, that the Englishman should remain in Havana where he will be secure,

The Count of Salazar.
Don Diego de Ybarra.
Don Diego Brochero.
Licenciado Don Francisco Arias Maldonado.
Doctor Bernardo de Olmedilla.
Licenciado Don Francisco de Tejada.

without his holding communication with any of his nation, until Your Majesty shall otherwise order. . . .

MADRID, October 31, 1611.
[Six rubrics]
[Endorsed:] *Let that be done which seems best.*

[Written and rubricated by the King.]

J. R. DE CONTRERAS.

II. THE KING TO THE GOVERNOR OF CUBA, JANUARY 17, 1612.[1]

Al gobernador de la havana sobre que en la primera ocasion de galeones o flota envie a la casa de la contratacion de sevilla un piloto ingles que esta alla para el efeto q. V. M. a rresuelto por el consejo de estado.

El Rey. — Don Gaspar Ruiz de Pereda cavallero de la horden de Santiago mi gobernador y capitan general de la ysla de cuba y ciudad de san Xrobal de la havana. Don Alonso de Velasco mi enbaxador en inglaterra me escrive le an ofrescido que luego le harian traer a londres al alcaide don diego de molina y los otros dos que con el quedaron prisioneros en la Virginia y se los entregarian volviendoseles el piloto ingles que de alli truxeron a essa ciudad donde al presente esta, y porque mi voluntad es que para este efeto sea traido a españa, os mando que en la primera ocassion de galeones o flota invieis al dicho piloto preso y a buen rrecaudo rreciviendole el general con obligacion de entregarle en la carcel de la casa de la contratacion de Sevilla y encargandole le traya bien tratado que tal es mi voluntad. de Madrid a diez y siete de henero de mil y seiscientos y doze años. YO EL REY. por mandado del rey ntro. señor, JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS. señalada de los de la junta de guerra de indias.

(Translation.)

To the Governor of Havana, that on the first opportunity of galleons or fleet he shall send to the Casa de Contratacion in Seville an English pilot who is there, according as Your Majesty has resolved through the Council of State.[2]

The King. — Don Gaspar Ruiz de Pereda, Knight of the Order of Santiago, my governor and captain general of the island of Cuba and city of San Christobal de la Havana. Don Alonso de Velasco,

[1] A. G. I., 78–2–2, vol. 6, p. 135, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Santo Domingo, Registros de Oficio, Reales Ordenes dirigidas a las Autoridades del Distrito de la Audiencia, Años 1605–1625.

[2] Summary or memorandum of contents, which according to Spainsh official custom was endorsed or elsewhere written on the document.

my embassador in England, writes me that they have offered him that immediately they will cause to be brought to London the warden Don Diego de Molina and the other two that remain prisoners with him in Virginia, and that they will deliver them up exchanging them against the English pilot who was taken from there to that city where he now is, and since it is my will that for this purpose he shall be brought to Spain, I command you that on the first opportunity of galleons or fleet you shall send the said pilot as a prisoner, well guarded, the general (of the fleet) receiving him under obligation to deliver him to the prison of the Casa de la Contratacion in Seville, and charging him that he shall bring him with good treatment, for such is my will. MADRID, January 17, 1612. I THE KING. By command of the King our Lord, JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS. Signed by those of the Board of War for the Indies.

III. ORDER OF THE BOARD OF WAR FOR THE INDIES, JANUARY 19, 1612.[1]

Junta de guerra de Indias A 19 de henero 1612. En Razon de los Ingleses de la Virginia y lo que se podria hazer para hecharlos de alli.

todo esta bien considerado y por agora se de prissa a traer el yngles que esta en la havana para que se trueque con los españoles pressos en la Virginia que tienen en Inglaterra y en estando echo este trueque Resolvere en todo lo demas que aqui se dice lo que conbieniere y los que trugeren a este Ingles (que ha de venir bien tratado) procuren entender dellas particularidades que pudieren de la Virginia. (Rubrica.) Recivida en 16 de hebrero 612. J. R. DE CONTRERAS.

(Translation.)

Board of War for the Indies, January 19, 1612. Respecting the English in Virginia and what can be done to drive them thence.

All has been well considered, and now let haste be made to bring over the Englishman who is in Havana, that he may be exchanged against the Spaniards captured in Virginia whom they are holding in England, and in executing this exchange whatever is suitable shall be resolved upon, in respect to the rest of what is said here, and let those who bring this Englishman (who is to be well treated on the voyage) obtain whatever details they can respecting Virginia. (Rubric.) Received February 16, 1612. J. R. DE CONTRERAS.

[1] A. G. I., 147–5–17, Indiferente General, Consultas Originales, Años 1612 á 1618.

IV. The Secretary of the Council for the Indies to Don Hieronimo de Portugal, November 13, 1612.[1]

Al general don Hieronimo de Portugal. — En el consejo y junta ley las cartas que V. E. escribio a su magestad. . . . desean estos señores que V. E. trujese en su compañia un piloto ingles que viene prisionero en la armada que se tomo de los de la Virginia. V. E. bera como pueda ser esto trayendose con mucha siguridad. . . . En Madrid a treze de Nobre. de 1612. Pedro de Ledesma.

(Translation.)

To the general Don Hieronimo de Portugal. — In the Council and Board I read the letters which Your Excellency wrote to His Majesty. . . . These Lords desire that Your Excellency shall bring in his company an English pilot who is coming a prisoner in the fleet, and who was taken from among those in Virginia. Your Excellency will arrange as to this, bringing him with much security. . . . Madrid, November 13, 1612. Pedro de Ledesma.[2]

V. The Board of War for the Indies to the King, December 23, 1612.[3]

Junta de guerra de Indias A 22 de diziembre 1612. dase quenta de como el yngles de la Virginia que estava en la havana Vino en los galeones a sevilla y de alli a esta qorte. *Tengase al ingles al buen recado y bien tratado asta que vengan los que se esperan.* J. R. de Contreras.

Señor: El año pasado mando vuestra magestad al alcaide don diego de molina y al alferez marco Antonio perez que en una caravela fuesen a Reconozer la Virginia y la poblazion y fuerças que los yngleses tienen alli y haviendo saltado en tierra los dos referidos y otro compañero suyo les prendieron y la demas gente que quedava en la caravela llevo consigo a la havana a un piloto yngles que hubo a las manos y teniendo vuestra magestad noticia dello se sirvio de escribir Por el consejo de estado al embaxador de aquel reino tratase de la soltura destos tres hombres, y despues en 10 de Henero deste año escribio el secretario Juan de çiriça un papel al conde de salazar en que le dezia que el secretario antonio de

El marques de salinas, el conde de gelbes. don diego brochero. doctor bernardo de olmedilla. Licenciado don francisco de tejada.

[1] A. G. I., 152–1–3, vol. 10, p. 135, Indiferente General, Armadas y Flotas: Registros, Reales Ordenes y Nombramientos, etc., y Disposiciones del Consejo, Años 1601–1614.

[2] Secretary of the Council for the Indies.

[3] A. G. I., 147–5–17, Indiferente General, Consultas Originales, Años 1612 á 1618.

aroztegui le Havia avisado que don Alonso de Velasco havia respondido que en Ynglaterra le havian dicho que luego los harian traer a londres para entregarselos con que se les volviese el piloto yngles que estava en la havana y que vuestra magestad por el consejo de estado havia resuelto que la truxesen aqui para este efecto de que avisava al conde por orden del de la guerra para que lo dixese en esta junta como lo Hizo y haviendose visto en ella se escribio carta de vuestra magestad al governador de la havana hordenandole que en la primera ocasion ynviase a españa al piloto yngles presso y a buen Recaudo en cuyo cunplimiento le ynvio en estos galeones a la casa de la contratacion de sevilla de donde por la junta le han traydo a esta corte y queda en ella a cargo de una persona de satisfacion a quien se a encargado tenga quenta con el de que se abisa a vuestra magestad para que teniendolo entendido mande lo que sea servido supuesto que para tratar de Hechar con efecto a los yngleses de la Virginia (en que tanto conviene tomar breve resolucion) se aguarda al alcaide don diego de molina y sus compañeros para que conforme a la noticia que truxieren de todo lo de alli se prevengan los baxeles gente y lo demas necessario para el buen subceso de la enpresa como vuestra magestad lo tiene mandado. en madrid a 23 de diziembre 1612.

[Hay cinco rubricas.]

(Translation.)

Board of War for the Indies, December 22, 1612. Information is given that the Englishman from Virginia who was in Havana came in the galleons to Seville, and from there to this court. *Let the Englishman be kept well guarded and well treated until those come who are expected.* J. R. DE CONTRERAS.

My Lord: Last year Your Majesty commanded the warden Don Diego de Molina and the ensign Marco Antonio Perez to go in a caravel to reconnoitre Virginia and the settlement and armaments which the English have there, and the two mentioned and another their companion having gone ashore were captured, and the rest of the people who remained on the caravel took with them to Havana an English pilot whom they had in their hands, and Your Majesty having been notified of this was pleased to write through the Council of State to your ambassador in that kingdom that he should negotiate for the release of those three men, and afterward, on January 10 of the present year, the secretary Juan de Çiriça wrote a paper to the Count of Salazar in which he told him that the secretary Antonio de Aroztegui had informed him that Don Alonso de Velasco had

The Marquis of Salinas.
The Count of Gelbes.
Don Diego Brochero.
Doctor Bernardo de Olmedilla.
Licenciado Don Francisco de Tejada.

replied that in England they had told him that they would forthwith have these men brought to London to deliver them over, on condition that the English pilot who was in Havana should be exchanged against them, and that Your Majesty through the Council of State had decreed that they should bring him here for this purpose, of which he informed the Count by order of the Council of War in order that it might be discussed in this Board, as was done, and, the matter having been examined here, a letter was written by Your Majesty to the governor of Havana ordering him that on the first opportunity he should send the English pilot to Spain as a prisoner, well guarded, in fulfillment of which he sent him in these galleons[1] to the Casa de la Contratacion in Seville, whence by order of the Board they have brought him to this court, and he is here in charge of a satisfactory person who has been enjoined to take care of him, of which Your Majesty is notified in order that having understood the matter he may give what orders he pleases, it being understood that, in order to deal effectively with the English in Virginia (in which matter it is so important to make early decision) the warden Don Diego de Molina and his companions should be waited for, in order that, according to the information which they bring concerning all things there, ships, men, and all else that is necessary for the success of the enterprise may be prepared as Your Majesty shall command. MADRID, December 23, 1612.

[Five rubrics.]

VI. THE COUNCIL OF STATE TO THE KING, DECEMBER 22, 1612.[2]

[En la carpeta.]

De officio. El Conssejo de stado A 22 Diciembre 1612. Sobre lo que Ultimamente escrivio el embaxador don Alonso de Velasco acerca del trueque de prisioneros que estan en la Virginia.

[Dentro.]

Señor: Vuestra Magestad mando los años pasados que Don Diego de Molyna El Alferez Marco Antonio Perez y un Piloto fuesen en una Caravela a reconoscer el puesto de la Virginia y las fortifficaciones que en el han hecho los Yngleses la dispossicion de la costa y la entrada de la bahya y todo lo demas que convenia tener savido y aviendo saltado En tierra fueron presos pero la Carabela se Escapo y traxeron En ella un piloto Yngles escriviose despues al Embaxador don Alonso de Velasco que fingiendo que los nuestros avian ydo por orden del governador de la Havana a la costa de la Virginia en busca de cierto navio y saltado En tierra con buena fe hiziesse sentimiento con el Rey de Ynglaterra de la

[1] *I. e.*, the latest fleet to arrive.

[2] Archivo General de Simancas, Secretaria de Estado, legajo 844, folio 152.

prision de los dichos dos españoles y El Piloto y que procurase su livertad con la brevedad possible para que prosiguiesen en cumplir la comission que llevavan y haviendo hecho don Alonso lo que se le ordeno ha escrito que le respondieron que luego mandarian traer a londres los tres hombres y se los entregarian bolviendoles El Piloto que les llevo la dicha Caravela y pide orden don Alonso de lo que hara En esto. Y haviendolo Visto el Conssejo paresce que se escriva al dicho don Alonso de Velasco que effectue el trueco de los dichos prissioneros y pida que los nuestros se le entreguen a el assegurando a Yngleses que El piloto que Ellos piden se dara en esta corte al Embaxador de Ynglaterra o a quien alla escogieren pero sera bien que antes que esto se effectue se examine aqui al dicho piloto muy particularmente de todo lo de la Virginia como esta acordado escriviendo luego a Sevilla (donde ya esta) que le hagan Venir a buen recaudo. Vuestra Magestad etc.

(Translation.)

[On the outside.]

Official. The Council of State, December 22, 1612. Concerning what the ambassador Don Alonso de Velasco recently wrote concerning the exchange of prisoners who are in Virginia.

[Within.]

My Lord: Your Majesty commanded in the previous year that Don Diego de Molyna, the ensign Marco Antonio Perez, and a pilot should go in a caravel to reconnoitre the post of Virginia and the fortifications which the English have made there, the arrangement of the coast, the entrance to the bay, and all else that ought to be known, and having gone ashore they were taken prisoners, but the caravel escaped, and they took in it an English pilot. Then it was written to the ambassador Don Alonso de Velasco that, pretending that our men had gone by order of the governor of Havana to the coast of Virginia in search after a certain ship and had gone ashore in good faith, he should appeal to the King of England concerning the imprisonment of the said two Spaniards and the pilot and should procure their liberty as soon as possible, in order that they might proceed to accomplish the mission they had undertaken, and Don Alonso having done what he was commanded has written that they replied to him that forthwith they would cause the three men to be brought to London and would deliver them over, exchanging them against the pilot whom the said caravel had taken from them, and Don Alonso asks instructions as to what he shall do in this matter. And the Council, having considered the matter, is of opinion that one should write to the said Don Alonso de Velasco that he shall carry out the exchange of the said prisoners, and that he shall ask that

our men shall be delivered over to him, assuring the English that the pilot whom they ask for shall be given over at this court to the ambassador of England or to whomsoever they there shall choose, but it will be well that, before this is done, the said pilot shall be examined here very particularly concerning all matters of Virginia, as has been agreed upon, writing immediately to Seville (where he now is) that they shall cause him to come under good guard. Your Majesty etc.

VII. The Secretary Juan Ruiz de Contreras to Alonso de Vergara, December 24, 1612.[1]

Al Capittan alonso flores se a hordenado tenga quenta con el piloto yngles de la virginia que a venido de la havana y para en quenta del gasto que va haziendo con el, ha acordado el qonsexo se le libren en gastos destrados cinquenta ducados y asi de qualesquier maravedis aplicados para este efecto mandara Vuestra merced que se los den Luego y yo de mi parte se lo hordeno a Vuestra merced quedando a mi cargo el Cuidado de Hazer que se despache el libramiento en pasando pasquas. guarde dios a Vuestra merced como deseo. de casa 24 de diziembre 1612. Juan Ruiz de Contreras.

alonso de Vergara.

(Translation.)

Orders have been sent to Captain Alonso Flores that he should take care of the English pilot from Virginia who has come from Havana, and on account of the expense which is incurred respecting him the Council has agreed that for costs of a hearing fifty ducats shall be paid, and so with regard to whatever money has been appropriated for this purpose. Your Worship will order that these shall be given at once, and I for my part so instruct Your Worship, it having been left in my charge to insure that the payment is delivered after the Christmas holiday season. God guard Your Worship as I desire. From my house, December 24, 1612. Juan Ruiz de Contreras.

Alonso de Vergara

VIII. The Duke of Lerma to the Marquis of Salinas, February 9, 1613.[2]

Palaçio 9 de hebrero 1613. El señor duque de Lerma que se Exsamine con mucha destreza al piloto yngles y se tenga mucho cuidado con el por

[1] A. G. I., 140–2–9, Indiferente General, Registros: Correspondencia del Secretario del Consejo, con sus Resoluciones y Reales Disposiciones para Autoridades y Particulares, Años 1607 a 1617, Tomo PP. 3.

[2] A. G. I., 147–5–17, Indiferente General, Consultas Originales, Años 1612 á 1618.

que se pueda hazer el trueque que esta tratado de los tres prisioneros que Tomaran en la Virginia. en 14 de hevrero de 613. *Todo lo que su magestad manda se remite al señor don francisco de tejada.* (Rubrica.)

Su magestad manda que haga vuestra señoria exsaminar con mucha destreza y particularidad al Piloto Ingles que esta aqui y fue tomado en la Virginia de todo lo que conviniere tener entendido de las cossas de aquel puerto y del fundamento y disignio que llevan ynglesses en su fortificacion y que avise vuestra señoria a su magestad de lo que acerca desta materia se apurare y porque se esta de acuerdo con Ingleses que nos entregaran en Trueco deste piloto los tres prisioneros que alli se tomaron ordenara vuestra señoria que hasta que esto tenga effecto se tenga cuidado con guardar la persona del dicho piloto. Dios guarde a vuestra señoria. en Palacio A 9 de hebrero 1613.

El duque. (Rubricado.)

Señor Marques de salinas.

(Translation.)

The Palace, February 9, 1613. The lord Duke of Lerma, that the English pilot shall be examined with much skill, and that much care shall be taken of him, in order that the exchange may be effected which has been arranged, of the three prisoners whom they took in Virginia. — February 14, 1613. *All that His Majesty commands is referred to the lord Don Francisco de Tejada.* (Rubric.)

His Majesty commands that Your Lordship shall cause to be examined with much skill and carefulness the English pilot who is here and was captured in Virginia, concerning all that ought to be known of the matters of that port and of the reason and intention which the English had in fortifying it, and that Your Lordship should inform His Majesty of whatever shall be made known concerning this matter, and inasmuch as it is agreed with the English that they shall deliver over to us in exchange for this pilot the three prisoners who were captured there, Your Lordship will order that, until this is done, care shall be taken to guard the person of the said pilot. God guard Your Lordship. At the Palace, February 9, 1613.

The Duke. (Rubric.)

The lord Marquis of Salinas.

IX. The Board of War for the Indies, to the King, February 23, 1613.[1]

Junta de guerra de Indias A 23 de hebrero 1613. açerca del piloto yngles de la Virginia. *assi se haga y tornesse a encargar su buen tratamiento y aposento.*

Señor: El duque de lerma en Papel de 9 del presente dize entre otras cosas que vuestra magestad manda que se tenga mucho cuidado con guardar la persona del piloto Ingles de la virginia que por mandado de vuestra magestad truxeron de la havana en los ultimos galeones hasta que como se esta de acuerdo den en trueco deste piloto al alcaide don diego de molina y sus dos conpañeros que con el fueron presos En aquella parte.

y como quiera que hasta agora por horden de la junta le a tenido a su cargo El capitan don alonsso flores supuesto que esta de partida para yr a servir a vuestra magestad en la ocassion del socorro que se ynvia a philipinas cunpliendo con lo que vuestra magestad manda a pareçido poner al dicho Ingles en la carcel desta corte y al alcaide sea Hordenado le tenga en buena custodia y guarda haziendole buen tratamiento y Comodidad y para pagar la carçeleria su comida y cama pareze se le podrian dar a Razon de diez Reales al dia y 30 ducados adelantados librados en condenaçiones hechas por esta junta aplicadas para la camara. Vuestra magestad mandara lo que mas se sirva. en madrid a 13 [23?] de hebrero 1613.

[Hay ocho rubricas.]

(Translation.)

Board of War for the Indies, February 23, 1613. Concerning the English pilot from Virginia. *Let it be done so, and again be it directed that care be taken for good entertainment and lodging for him.*

My Lord: The Duke of Lerma in a paper of the ninth of the present month says among other things that Your Majesty orders that much care shall be taken to guard the person of the English pilot from Virginia whom by command of Your Majesty they brought from Havana in the latest galleons, until, as has been agreed, they give in exchange for this pilot the warden Don Diego de Molina and his two companions who were captured with him in that region.

And inasmuch as until now, by order of the Board, Captain Don Alonsso Flores, has had charge of him, and inasmuch as he [Flores] is about to depart to serve Your Majesty in connection with the reinforcement which is being sent to the Philippines, in

[1] A. G. I., 147–5–17, Indiferente General, Consultas Originales, Años 1612 á 1618.

compliance with what Your Majesty orders, it has seemed good to put the said Englishman in the prison of this court and that the warden should be ordered to keep him in good custody and guard, giving him good entertainment and comforts, and to pay the prison charges and his food and lodging it is our opinion that payment might be made to him at the rate of ten reals a day, and thirty ducats in advance, paid out of fines levied by this Board and appropriated for the court. Your Majesty will command what best pleases him. MADRID, February 13 [23], 1613.

[Eight rubrics.]

X. SECRETARY RUIZ DE CONTRERAS TO THE WARDEN OF THE COURT PRISON, February 26, 1613.[1]

En la Junta de guerra se a entendido que el piloto yngles llamado Juan clerque que por su horden esta en la carcel Real desta corte se le an puesto prissiones y manda que luego se le quiten y que Vuestra merced le tenga en un apossento entre personas confidentes donde este guardado a buen rrecaudo y no presso porque assi conviene al servicio de su Magestad. guarde dios a Vuestra merced como desseo. 26 de hebrero de 1613. JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS.

Al alcaide de la carzel de Corte.

(Translation.)

In the Board of War it has been reported that the English pilot called Juan Clerque, who by its orders is in the royal prison of this court has been put in close confinement, and it orders that he shall immediately be taken out and that Your Worship shall keep him in a lodging-place among trustworthy persons where he shall be guarded well but not a close prisoner, for this is suitable to the service of His Majesty. God guard Your Worship as I desire. February 26, 1613. JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS.

To the Warden of the Prison of the Court

XI. SECRETARY RUIZ DE CONTRERAS TO DIEGO DE VERGARA, FEBRUARY 1, 1616.[2]

A Do. de Vergara (Gabiria). Por mandado de su mag'd se a puesto en livertad a Ju[an] Clerque piloto ingles que estava preso en la carcel desta

[1] A. G. I., 140–2–9, Indiferente General, Registros: Correspondencia del Secretario del Consejo, con sus Resoluciones y Reales Disposiciones para Autoridades y Particulares, Años 1607 a 1617, Tomo PP. 3.

[2] A. G. I., 140–2–9 III., Indiferente General, Registros: Correspondencia del Secretario del Consejo con sus Resoluciones y Rs. Disposiciones para Autoridades y Particulares, Años 1607–1617.

corte y porque dize que de lo que se le dava para su comida y carceleria se le deve cantid[ad] y a pedido que se le mande pagar porque se quiere hir a su tierra me a hordenado la junta de guerra escriva a v.m. que sin detenerle una sola hora le pague v.m. todo lo que se le deviere hasta 26 de hen. pasado que salio de la carcel quedando adbertido de que de alli adelante no se le a de pagar cosa alguna. Guarde Dios a v.m., etc. En Madrid a primero de Hebrero de 1616. JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS.

(Translation.)

To Do. de Vergara (Gabiria). By order of His Majesty, Juan Clerque the English pilot, who was in close confinement in the prison of this court, has been set at liberty, and inasmuch as he says that, of what was given him for his food and prison fees, a certain amount is still owing to him, and has requested that it shall be ordered to be paid to him, because he desires to go to his own country, the Board of War has ordered me to write to Your Worship that, without delaying him a single hour Your Worship should pay him all that may be owing to him up to January 26 last when he went out from prison, leaving you to take notice that from that date on nothing is to be paid to him. God guard Your Worship, etc. MADRID, February 1, 1616. JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS.

XII. SECRETARY RUIZ DE CONTRERAS TO JUAN DE ÇIRIÇA, FEBRUARY, 18, 1616.[1]

Sr. Juan de Çiriça. Cumpliendo con lo que su Mag'd mando por papel del Duque mi señor se entrego al embax'or de ynglaterra Ju[an] Clerq piloto ingles que estaba preso en la carcel desta corte como lo vera VM por la certificacion que dio del rescibo y va con este para que por el conce[jo] de estado se remita a Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna y constando dello en Londres den livertad a Don Diego de Molina y a la persona que con el fue preso en la Virginia como sea suplicado a su mag'd por diversas consultas de la junta de guerra. Suplico a VM se sirva de mandarme avisar de como queda en su poder para este efecto. Guarde, etc. En Madrid a 18 de febrero de 1616. JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS.

(Translation.)

Señor Juan de Çiriça: Complying with what His Majesty commanded through a paper of my lord the Duke, Juan Clerq the English pilot who was imprisoned in the prison of this court has been

[1] A. G. I., 140–2–9 III., Indiferente General, Registros: Correspondencia del Secretario del Consejo, con sus Resoluciones y Rs. Disposiciones para Autoridades y Particulares, Años 1607–1617.

delivered to the ambassador of England, as Your Worship will see by the certificate which he gave of the receipt, and which goes with this in order that it may be sent by the Council of State to Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuna,[1] and that on being assured of it in London they may release Don Diego de Molina and the person who was captured with him in Virginia, as His Majesty has been requested by various votes of the Board of War. I request Your Worship to be pleased to cause me to be advised, as he shall be able, to this effect. God guard, etc. MADRID, February 18, 1616. JUAN RUIZ DE CONTRERAS.

JONATHAN RUSSELL TO JOHN M. FORBES.

PARIS, 31 January, 1815.

My dear Sir, — I ought at an earlier date to have thanked you for your favour of the 9th instant. As I cannot plead business and am ashamed to plead dissipation for the delay, I throw myself entirely on your mercy.

As to the good people of Hamburg I have been a long time acquainted with their character and have on a former occasion done them ample justice. This medley of Jews and "uncircumcised dogs" have no right to give an opinion upon the transactions between independent nations. They stick to their friends like leeches till they have exhausted their blood and then transfer their attentions to more plethorick subjects. It is pleasant to see these saturated reptiles occasionally squeezed by the gripe of power and disgorge from their foul stomachs the stolen crudities they had swallowed. I thank God that they have selected England as their present favourite, for it is only to feed upon her morbid matter and if we are wise, we may have some repose from the diseases of their dancing houses and the frauds of their Boursen-hall.

With regard to the treaty,[2] I, of course, consider it as highly honourable to the United States. The events which took place last spring in Europe left us to contend single handed against Great Britain. She was inflated by success and mistress of a force which under no other circumstances could have been at her disposal. She was in a singular degree irritated against us and she had all the inclination and, as she believed, all the means to subjugate and punish us in a single campaign. We were on our part unprepared and divided and faction had literally tied one of our hands behind us.

[1] The successor of Velasco as ambassador in London; better known as the Count of Gondomar.

[2] Of Ghent.

She commenced her military and diplomatic campaign under these circumstances and evidently with the intention and expectation of humiliating and dismembering the United States. She declared the whole American coast in a state of blockade; she made piratical excursions against our unfortified places; she pillaged private magazines and burnt libraries and dwelling houses. She demanded a cession of nearly one third of the territories of the United States and then we should leave the rest defenceless by dismantling our fleets on the lakes and demolishing our fortifications near them. But she has closed the campaign with disgrace and discomfiture. She has witnessed her own fleets on some of those lakes destroyed. She has seen her best troops beaten and retreating before an inferior force of raw militia and she has felt the naval charm by which she held the world enchanted broken and dissolved forever. To consummate her disgrace and ignominy she has been obliged to renounce all her *sine qua nons* with which she commenced the negotiation and has signed and ratified a treaty by which she gains not a single inch of our territory or impairs the smallest particle of our rights. Let the miserable Hamburghers triumph in the peace she has made. Although she has lost her military, her naval and her moral glory, she is still entitled to the admiration of wretches who despise this glory because they never enjoyed it and hail a depraved and degraded nation as a new member of the political order to which they belong. They might have had however a better title to claim kindred with England and more room to indulge their sympathies towards [us] had the war continued another campaign. She might then have quite sunk to their vile level and become the pander of the vices and the broker of the frauds on which she would have been compelled to subsist. Don't show this letter till I have safely passed Hamburg, for, as Junius says, those who have not the courage to fight may assassinate.

I shall probably remain here five or six weeks longer during which time I hope to hear again from you.[1] As ever, faithfully yours,

JONATHAN RUSSELL.

[1] "The illustration you give of the general result of our arduous struggle, without entering into details not permitted at present, is much like that which in a far humbler style I had already given here. I pity the poor H ——s under the lash of such a pen and would risk assassination to have been the author of such a letter. You modestly quote Junius who, had he lived after you, would have rendered a similar tribute to your style. I dare not say more lest I should be suspected of adulation, which would be misapplied to a friend of twenty years standing." *From John M. Forbes*, February 13, 1815.

Otis Ammidon to Jonathan Russell.

Philadelphia, February 20, 1815.

Dear Brother, — The glorious news of Peace reached this city on Sunday the 12th inst., just as people were returning from meeting at noon. The joy was fully expressed by the laughing, shaking of hands and mutual congratulations of the passing multitude. Strangers in the street did not hesitate to wish each other joy. In Boston, I see they opened their school houses to let the boys run and kick up their heels. Grand illuminations are making throughout the United States. Our mayor was rather premature in giving the order for illuminating this city before the ratification of the treaty by the President and Senate. In one of the windows was a very brilliant transparency of the names of our Commissioners. Amelia made this discovery in her walks. I was too much employed in my own house to go much about the city. There never could be any event among the affairs of men that would excite such joy, and I trust thankfulness, throughout the country, as has the return of Peace. It was very unexpected to a greater part of the people. For why the British should have sent such a force against N. Orleans and then made a Peace, without hearing the result of the expedition, is astonishing; but it is well for them they were ignorant of their fate in that quarter. Never, never was there such a complete victory as was gained by us at that place. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded and prisoners was 4,000; that of ours did not exceed 250 altogether. The great difference in loss of men is wonderful, almost miraculous. It is, however, not so surprising when we are told that the enemy's watchwords were "Beauty and booty." The particulars of this affair I presume will reach you long before this does.

I rejoice most sincerely at the return of Peace, and am thankful that you are one of the number that has been instrumental under God in bringing it about. I have heard the Commissioners *most* highly spoken of by some of the Federal gentlemen of this city. It is confessed on all hands that *they* carried heavier metal than the noble gentlemen.

Now for a word about ourselves. Since we have been engaged in business our commissions amount to about $6,000, which we consider very well for the first year. And now I would like to compound for the same sum for the second year. We have done nothing since the news of Peace arrived. All domestic sales have entirely stopped for the present. As yet we have no advices from the manufacturers since the news has reached them. The prices, it is thought, must

come down about 15 or 20 per cent. The consumption at any rate will be very much lessened. We have written our friends Messrs. Brown & Ives stating our opinion as to the change that will now take place in our business, and that we shall find it necessary to seek for other business in connexion with that of selling domestic goods. Mr. Ives once told me, that in case the domestic business did not succeed, that they (B. & I.) could procure us as many British goods as we should want; they would be no disadvantage to the domestics, but on the contrary would assist in getting them off. We are in hopes, however, of becoming commission merchants generally and of a grade that shall be respectable. B. & I.'s business alone will be worth a handsome sum, I have no doubt. Philip [Ammidon], I hope, has safe arrived at Canton, and during his residence in that country, I doubt not will make us many shipments. Should it not be incompatible with your present station to recommend our House to your friends in different parts of Europe, I have no doubt you could procure us some business from France and perhaps the north of Europe. You can state that we are patronized by Messrs. Brown & Ives, who are pretty well known, I suppose, in most of the large commercial towns where we should be likely to succeed. I may be much mistaken in my expectations, but I have really entertained great hopes of getting some business from Europe thro' your recommendation, which I am still sanguine in, provided you *can* procure it by any exertions not improper in a Foreign Mission. We shall have it in our power to make large advances, having established a good credit thro' B. & I. . . .

We had a letter today from B. & Ives; they appear to be exceedingly rejoiced, as is the whole town of Providence. You ought now to come home and see how gladly they would receive you. It is to be hoped they will not forget your services for a year to come. . . .

Robert M. Patterson to Jonathan Russell.

Philadelphia, February 20, 1815.

Dear Sir, — I congratulate you on the successful conclusion of your long and no doubt very tedious labors at Ghent. The treaty which you have given us is considered highly honorable to the country and to the commissioners. The intelligence of its conclusion could not have arrived at a more happy moment. We had just received the news of the most brilliant success of our arms at New Orleans, and our joy had a double object. Philadelphia was brilliantly illuminated on Wednesday last — the most *general* illumination that I have ever seen. The transparencies which were very

numerous, had all a twofold allusion; the laurel and the olive were entwined together, and the motto was *For* VICTORY *and* PEACE.

You will find also from the proceedings of our congress, that we had another cogent reason to rejoice at the termination of the war. The efficient and manly measures proposed by the executive at the beginning of the session were all either totally rejected, or frittered down into insignificance; and the credit of the government was at the lowest ebb. The tories, with an impious malignity, exulted at the embarrassments of the country, and the whigs looked forward with much apprehension to the campaign which they supposed to be approaching. . . .

R. M. PATTERSON.

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant at three o'clock, P.M. In the absence of the President, and the first Vice-President, the second Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, occupied the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following items among the accessions:

From Miss Annette Hewes Belcher, of Sharon, a copy of Volume I of the Works of William Perkins, London, 1626, bearing the signature on the title page of Joseph Belcher, which closely resembles that of Rev. Joseph Belcher, Minister at Dedham, 1692–1723.

From Professor Kittredge, a pamphlet by Dr. William Wagstaff, entitled *A Letter to Dr. Freind; shewing the Danger and Uncertainty of Inoculating the Small Pox*, London, 1722.

From Dr. Farlow, a number of manuscripts.

From Mr. Dowse, a copy of *Wriothesley Portraits*, in England, by Richard W. Goulding, Librarian at Welbeck Abbey.

From Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, of Washington, D. C., additional papers and correspondence of her uncle, Dr. William Everett, 1852–1909.

From Herbert D. Foster, of Hanover, N. H., the diary (1851) of Rev. Daniel Foster (1816–1864), two sermon books and papers on Mr. Foster and the Foster family, 1850–1884.

From the S. S. Pierce Company, Boston, a letter of Daniel Webster to R. Smith, Cashier, 1833.

From Mr. Shaw, an "Assembly" ticket, Boston, Nov., 1803, issued by William Turner.

By purchase, nine letters (1751–1760) of Stephen Hales, D.D., of Teddington, England, a Trustee of the Colony of Georgia, and the inventor of artificial ventilators. One of these was written to Gov. Francis Bernard, of New Jersey, on July 18, 1758, to accompany a gift of twenty of his books on the uses of ventilation, for distribution. This purchase includes two papers of Charles Heriott, in Latin, and a letter, also in Latin, by Thomas Morton (1564–1609), bishop successively of Chester, of Lichfield, and of Durham, dated London, December, 1609, to Sibrand Lubbert, Professor of Theology in the University of Franeker.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Miss Edith Andrew and her brother, Henry Hersey Andrew, a collection of relics formerly belonging to Gov. John A. Andrew, their father: an iron slave collar, surmounted by three prongs, cut from the neck of a slave girl in New Orleans;[1] two slave whips; a piece of an auction slave block; a piece of the step on which Colonel Ellsworth was shot at the Marshall house, Alexandria, Va., given to Governor Andrew by Mr. J. P. Chanler, of Brookline; a gilt ornament of an eagle and an alligator, taken by Brig. Gen. George H. Gordon, from the library of Jefferson Davis in his executive mansion, Richmond, Va., at 2 o'clock on April 4, 1865; two specimens of the "daily bread" furnished to Union prisoners in Libby Prison, brought away by a paroled prisoner; two bullets picked up by Dr. S. G. Howe near Washington the year after the War; a paper knife made from the wood of the *Merrimac;* a gold pen, with handle made from the *Merrimac;* a plate resurrected from a grave in the cellar of the Thornton House, Fredericksburg, Va., 1863; a cane, with gold head, given by Col. Eli C. Kinsley and Maj. Charles J. McCarthy, inscribed "Grant and Pemberton Oak, Vicksburg, Miss., July 4, 1863;" another cane, of oak, made from a piece of the Hancock House, 1863; a Colt's revolver, which belonged to John Brown; a Remington army revolver, with ivory handle bearing a relief of the State seal and the national emblems; two brass-barrelled flint-lock pistols, with the initials "R. W." and the word "Wilson;" a lock of Alexander Hamilton's hair, given to Governor Andrew by James A. Hamilton his son, Nevis, Oct. 27, 1865, and a lock of Washington's hair given to him also by Mr. Hamilton; a piece of the Atlantic Cable given by Cyrus W. Field to Governor Andrew; a pack of playing cards bearing national emblems; Governor Andrew's seal, used while in office, bearing the coat of arms of the State; a glass seal bearing a cut of a slave and the surrounding legend "Am I not a woman and a sister;" a silver key of the Phi Beta Kappa, Alpha of Maine, February 22, 1825; a badge, Lincoln and Hamlin, 1860; a badge, Victoria, Albert, and Prince of Wales; a box made of the Charter Oak, contributed to the fair in Marshfield in the 50's; a sand shaker and sand receiver; a chapeau, shoulder straps, sash, and pair of gloves, a part of the uniform of Governor Andrew made at the urgent desire of his staff early in the war, and never worn by him but once, because of his dislike for it; also a few personal belongings.

From Miss Catharine Austin, of Newport, R. I., by deposit, relics formerly belonging to Gov. Elbridge Gerry, her great-grand-

[1] See account in a letter, *Proceedings*, XLIX. 2.

father; a rapier perhaps worn by him while in Paris, inscribed "Langford . . . Fleet Street," with its leather cover; one of a pair of pistols, inlaid with silver, given to Mr. Gerry by a British officer whom he found wounded at the Battle of Lexington and treated with special kindness, with inscription "I. Alley, Dublin;" a piece of the rope by which Henri Masers de Latude escaped in 1756 from the Bastille, given to Mr. Gerry and accompanied with his written statement; a medal, in terra cotta, by Nini, 1777, of Franklin, given by him to Miss Austin's great-grandfather, Jonathan L. Austin, in May, 1779; another medal, "Libertas Americana," in bronze, struck in Paris, and given to Mr. Gerry.

From the S. S. Pierce Company, Boston, five engravings of Daniel Webster.

From Nathaniel T. Kidder, of Milton, six photographic negatives, taken in different positions, of the bust of Jonathan Russell by Raymond Trentanove, Rome, 1819.

From Mr. Shaw, twenty-seven bills of New York State Banks from 1806 to 1820.

From Mr. Norcross, Mr. C. P. Greenough, and by exchange, coins, and bills of broken banks, and of the Confederate States.

By purchase, a medal issued by the Dutch government in connection with the Pilgrim Tercentenary.

The following letter accompanied the gift of the iron slave collar to Governor Andrew:

New Orleans, (La.), Aug. 28, 1863.

To His Excellency, John A. Andrew,
Governor State of Massachusetts:

Sir: — I have the honor to present to your Excellency, herewith, an iron relic of a poor slave girl's torture, which I procured near this city, under the following circumstances.

Soon after the Federal occupation of New Orleans, I was placed in command of a detachment of troops, and instructed to proceed down the river for the purpose of searching suspected premises for arms and munitions contraband of war. At the plantation of Madame Coutreil, a French Creole, residing just below the city, I found quite a quantity, and was about leaving when a small house, closed tightly and about nine or ten feet square, attracted my attention. I demanded the keys of the strange looking place, and, after unlocking double doors, found myself in the entrance of a dark and loathsome dungeon, alive with the most disgusting and sickening stench that can be imagined. The hot, close and stifled air puffed out by me until I was obliged to fall back, for fear of suffocation.

"In Heaven's name, what have you here!" I exclaimed to the slave mistress, from whom I had demanded the keys.

"Oh, only a 'ittle girl — she runned away."

I peered into the darkness, and was able to discover, sitting at one end of the room upon a low stool, a girl about eighteen years of age. She had this iron torture riveted about her neck, where it had rusted through the skin, and lay corroding apparently upon the flesh. Her head was bowed upon her hands, and she was almost insensible from emaciation, and immersion in the foul air of her dungeon. She was quite white — quadroon or octoroon — and previous to her confinement, which had continued as I found her *three months*, must have possessed a considerable claim to beauty. Her only crime, according to her mistress's statement, was that she had attempted to run away. She was also, I believe, suspected of having some sympathy with the "Yankees," and it was the intention of her mistress to keep her in the dungeon until the rebels had driven the Federals from the city — an event confidently expected at that time by the Confederate sympathizers.

I had the girl taken to the city, where this torture was removed from her neck by a blacksmith, who cut the rivet, and she was subsequently made FREE by military authority. Very respectfully, your most obedient servant,

S. TYLER READ,
Captain 3d Mass. Cavalry.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Harold Clarence Ernst, of Boston, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and a letter from David Jayne Hill, of Washington, D. C., accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

Henry Bradford Washburn, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

A paper by Mr. EMERTON on the *de Tyranno* of Coluccio Salutati (1330–1406) was read by Mr. MERRIMAN. Intended to be the introduction to a translation of the essay, it will be printed elsewhere.

Dr. WARREN exhibited the plans for the proposed extension of the Society's building.

DIARY OF WILLIAM GREENE, 1778.

Mr. FORD presented a diary of William Greene, son of Rufus Greene, of Boston, while in Europe during a part of the year

1778. He had set out for the West Indies, but was captured by the British and taken into New York. Thence he sailed for London in September, 1777, but whether as a prisoner of war or not is not known. It is probable that he was exchanged, or released on the intervention of some of his loyalist friends and relations, and went to the continent to await a favorable opportunity to return to America. Little is known of his career and he died unmarried. The original *Diary* is among the Prescott Papers, now deposited in the Society by Mr. Roger Wolcott.

Thursday, March 26, 1778. Having concluded to go to Brighton, from thence to Dieppe, I was much hurried in collecting my things, din'd at Mr. Dowling's, in the afternoon walked to the Golden Cross Inn at Charing Cross, engaged a seat in the post coach, then strolled to the Park for the last time, two turns up, then round the Bird Cage walk, from thence I went to Mr. Joy's [1] to tea plenty tir'd with my day's work, after tea call'd on Mr. Smith's, who renew'd the promise of a letter for me to Dr. F.[2] and Mr. D.[3] at Paris. I then proceeded to my lodgings, Mr. Joy, C. Blanchard,[4] F. Johonnot,[5] and I. Dickason passed the evening with me. Mr. G. D. called on me with Mr. Jno. T's.

Up at five Friday morning, having before sent my Chest on board a Brig't bound for Nants, to the care of Jon'a Williams, Esq., American Agent there. I had only a small trunk to take with me, accordingly a coach not being on the Stand, I procur'd a porter to carry my trunk, and proceeded to the Golden Cross, Charing Cross, set of in the post coach and four at six o'clock, Mr. Wm. Green of Lewis with me. We break[fasted] at Godstown, din'd at Lewis the White Hart. My friends at Brighthelmstone were extremely glad to see me. Mr. Lucas, a brother of Uncle's came outside passenger.

Saturday. Brighton not being a place of much visiting, of course was at home, very durty foggy weather not able to walk out. In the afternoon smoked a pipe at the New Ship with a number of old Dons, at home in the evening with quadrill.

Sunday, March 29. Extreme bad weather still. I think I bring it along with me, as every time I have been here it has proved dis-

[1] Michael Joy (1754–1825). He died in England.

[2] Franklin. [3] Silas Deane. [4] Caleb Blanchard.

[5] Francis Johonnot (b. *c* 1737) was son of Andrew and Susan (Oliver) Johonnot, and a graduate of the Boston Latin School in 1752. Nothing is known of his history save that he died unmarried. The father was a loyalist, left Boston in 1776 with the British and died in London.

agreeable weather, my ill luck seems to follow me up for the very day I arrived here a packet sail'd for Dieppe, and the day after an order came down stopping all French vessells, and all English vessells bound to France.

Monday, 30, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, not turn'd up worth remark. Sukey and I drank tea with Couzin Taylor, a first couzin of my Mother's, call'd on Miss Barbary Rickword, and took an agreeable walk, the weather having clear'd up very pleasant, we had a pool at Miss Rickword's.

Friday, April 3. Capt. Killig and Capt. Burton both talk of passing to Dieppe, this day or to morrow, shall go in one, very much want to receive a letter from Mr. Smith first, hope an opportunity will offer to send it to me; a great talk of war being declar'd this day in London, tho' I give no credit to it, long to be gone, as I fear something will stop me. Brighthelmstone, thirty years back, contained nothing but a few fishermen, but of late years the company from London, etc. resort here the months of June, July, August, Sept. (and from here they go to Bath,) have increas'd the town surprizingly. They now have a neat Play House built, in which a detachment from Covent Garden and Drury Lane act during the residence of the company here; they have two elegant Ball Rooms, one of which is reckon'd the finest in the Kingdom, they lately have got a ring of eight bells to their Church, which is an ancient building, remains being now left of the Romish superstition, in short the Town is quite alter'd. The principal streets are West Street, Middle Street, (Aunt Lucas lives), Ship Street, Black Lion Street, and East Street. The houses are all built of flint stone, which appears very heavy, very irregular, and low, in winter it is very disagreeable, being so near the Sea, have much stormy weather in the summer, the number of gentry resorting here enlivens it much. Both the married men and young batchelors have each a Club every week the winter season, the women their routs and coteries, tho' on the whole it is a very unpleasant place, the number of inhabitants I suppose in winter are about 2500. The whims of the gentry of late years of coming here to bath and for pleasure in the summer has made Brighthelmstone, the company last summer was about five hundred. Perhaps their whims may change soon or maybe the war may occasion it to return into its pristine state, for it is the company that keeps it alive.

Friday, April 3. Expected much to sail this day, but was disappointed, at Couzin Benj'a Club in the evening the Old Ship.

Saturday, April 4. in the evening at half past eight, Uncle, Couzin Sukey, etc., see me from the water side sail with a fine

wind. On Sunday morning the wind died away, or we should have been at Dieppe to breakfast, reach'd there about two o'clock P. M. by the Pilot Boat that came of to us we understood no Englishmen were suffer'd to leave Dieppe. I was much struck on seeing my Aunt, who looks very much as my good Mother did, never see two persons look so much like each other in my life. Couzin Betsy is a tall genteel girl, but not so handsome, I think Couzin Sukey exceeds her by far in every respect. Had a long talk with Aunt. I told her (knowing her circumstances) that I would tarry with her three weeks provided she wou'd let me pay for my board as another person, she did not appear to like it [at] first, but after a while she came into it. I have made no agreement with her, but when I leave Dieppe, shall give as much as I wou'd another person. Couzin Betsy and I walked out after tea, mett with Couzin James Deslandes, Lady and Child, they came home with us, set about a[n] hour. I retired to my chamber about eleven, wrote two letters, one to Couzin Sukey and one to Friend M[ichael] Joy, London, to bed half past twelve,

Monday, April 6. Up this morning at seven, wrote a letter to Jon'a Williams, Esq., Nants, and one to my Father. After breakfast walked after Capt. Killick, gave him my letter. I begin to attempt a little on the French, but am afraid my stay will be so short I shall be no proficient in it; din'd at one, after dinner Betsy and I called on Cozin James' Lady, and then walked a mile or two into the country, tea at Aunt's, in the evening whist, supped at half past nine, to bed at eleven.

Tuesday, April 7. After breakfast called at the City of London Tavern, where the English generally keep. Capt. Killuc gone to Brighton, Lady Lenox and others with him in Number 17 who are fearful of the war, for a few days back the passengers were not allowed to leave this place, the reason give for it was that the D. Prince of Conti had a great quantity of plate stole from him and they were fearful it wou'd be carried out of the Kingdom. I hope for the future the packets will go and come with ease. From the Tavern I went to Couzin James Deslandes, his Lady cannot talk a word of English, nor I a word of French, so we sat looking at one another, and I reading my grammar, we walked on the Pier, and on the Exchange: rather a poor place for gentlemen. One o'clock to dinner; James called on me after dinner, we went on a hill behind the Castle, had a full view of the Town. It appeared to be about three-quarters of a mile in length, perhaps a half mile broad, the houses are all brick, very indifferent, and not well finished inside, they are thick inhabited, they told me the number of

inhabitants were near thirty thousand, but I do not believe the number exceeds twenty thousand, those are fishermen, mostly poor. They have but three parish Churches, but for Chapels and Convents, they are without number; in the Town are six or eight Crosses in the street, our Saviour on it and the Virgin Mary under weeping, they generally pull off their hats. In the afternoon, as we were walking, the Host, or Sacrament, which the dying persons take, passed by, every Catholic fall on their knees to it; we Protestants pull'd of our hats. It is either cloth, leather, or silk, supported by two sticks carried by two priests, and another in the middle, and this is to keep the God from the rain. The God is carried by the middle priest under the canopy, two soldiers preceding and following. It was then going to a sick person. As we were walking from the Pier we meet Aunt Betsy and Mrs. Wilmot, a Lady who lodges at Aunt's in the room under me, mine is called Mount Lofty. We turn'd and walked more, then to tea, and whist in the evening.

Wednesday, April 8th. We have tea and hot roles for breakfast. Afterwards I went to Couzin James to receive a lesson from him, he not being at home, I read to his wife, who cannot speak a word of English. After twelve I walked. When I came home, found Couz: James, whose wife told him I had been there, and that she had invited me to dinner, but that she cou'd not make me understand. I went with him, we had boild bread and milk, a famous dish in France, and a roast poulet, cheese, apples, etc., cyder and wine after dinner. Aunt and Betsy called on us to walk. We went as far as the Hill it is reported Julius Caesar encamped about three miles out and three miles in. Tea and evening till nine with Mrs. Wilmot who lodges above in the chamber Sister Amory [1] did when she was here. I think Dieppe a disagreeable place to live in, for every night at ten o'clock the gates are shut, of which there are four, and after that time no one can enter or go out of the town without permission from the Lieutenant of the Castle who commands the City, and to whom the keys are carried every night, the gates are open'd at four in the morning. Another shocking circumstance is as ever the clock strikes ten evening you hear nothing but the throwing of every kind of filth from the windows, the necessary and all, so that it is dangerous to walk out then unless one has a notion to get scented; in the summer when we set with windows open it must be horrid, and now if the window is open'd there is no bareing the smell; only last night as I was seting at supper I heard

[1] Catherine Greene, who married John Amory. He was a partner of his brother Jonathan, and went to England in 1774 to settle some of the firm's affairs, was accounted a loyalist, but returned to America in 1783, and died in Boston, 1805. *New England Hist. Gen. Register*, x. 63.

a man passing by swearing out on a dose he received on his head. The houses are all brick considerable high, not at all finished inside, it is common to see the bare boards and walls. No persons of credit live here, neither is there a carriage in the place save the Commander's of the Castle. Last night it thunder'd, lightened and rain'd surprizingly. I think it was as hard thunder and sharp light. as ever I see or heard; the Ladies were much affrighted.

Thursday, April 9. After breakfast to my study till twelve, and then walked to the Exchange and the Pier, to hear the news. I don't understand. To dinner at one o'clock, after dinner Mr. Wilmot, Mr. Macho,[1] Couzin James and myself walked as far as d'Arc [Arques], formerly a considerable Town, now only a small Village about five miles from Dieppe, after drinking wine, etc. at a country house belonging to Mr. Macho's father, we viewed the famous Castle, (or rather the ruins) in which Henry 4th was besieged by the Huguenots in the time of the Civil Wars in France, ten thousand men is said to have been at that time inside the walls. The Castle is on a hill, and in the valley below is the Town of Arc. The antiquity of this Castle is not known, it is not unlikely but it was used by the Gauls. The walls are built of brick, amazingly strong, excellent mortar, and seems if it was not abused, wou'd continue forever. When we took a view of the inside, we walk'd on the walls, around, then we enter'd a cavern underneath dug in the earth, one they say reaches four and one-half miles, but no one as I understood had been to the end these many years, it certainly is a piece of great antiquity, and deserves remembrance. They pretend to show the hole the first shot made that struck it. I cannot as yet pass my judgment on the country as I have seen none to speak of. Return'd about eight, at whist in Aunt's room.

Friday, April 10. Couzin John's Lady called to see me in the morning, when she departed I went out, called on Mr. Bellam,[2] see a French gentleman who was learning English, and as I am learning French, he mention'd our meeting together, for assisting each other, which was very pleasing to me. He accordingly appointed to come to my chamber to morrow at six o'clock. Nothing material turn'd up this day, after dinner, Mr. Macho, Couzin James and myself strolled three or four miles from Town, in our way took a Lady in our company, when we return'd steped in to the Coffee House de [*blank*] drank three bottles of French beer, not near so good as the English, and eat a few tarts de cream. Home by eight, heard Capt. Burton and Killuc were arrived, see Burton, no letters for me, no talk of war. In our conversation at supper we were

[1] Probably Michau, mentioned later. [2] May be Bellons, mentioned later.

talking on the superstition of Romish religion, and how far the ignorance and weakness of mankind will carry them. An instance was mentioned, in Passion Week all the images in the churches are cover'd, on Good Friday, the church is entirely dark, save one lamp which is always aburning before the Host or what they call God, to shew that with the Supreme Being darkness never enters, but eternal light. On Easter Day every thing is decorated as much as possible, the Good Friday gloominess is wore off and every one appears gay, airy and bright. The chief Priest of the church whoever he is, go[es] into the church yard on Palm Sunday, puts a bunch of something green on a cross in the yard, an inferior who follows him immediately takes it, for fear it shou'd ruin the world. The head priest then goes to the door of the church, and knocks three times, the priests within open the door, and ask who comes there, he coming in answers, in French, the King of Glory. Can any thing be greater blasphemy, taking in vain, the name of that Supreme Being who fills Heaven and Earth with his Presence? Another story of the nuns is, a doctor some years ago was called to a convent to see two or three nuns almost adying, he was suffer'd to enter the house, which no man is permitted to do, when he enter'd the room he perceiv'd the nuns lying on a board all in a heap, for they are not permitted to lie straight, but their feet all underneath, in the most excruciating torture. When he come to examine them, poor wretches, they had a crown of thorns on their head in imitation of our Saviour, for mortification sake. It had stuck into their head a great way, he order'd it of directly, and endeavour'd to heal it, one of the poor creatures died with it, and the others was a long while before the[y] become well.

Nothing worthy of remark on Saturday. Sunday being Palm Sunday, a great day among the Romish, they all carry something green to church, and their churches were so full many could not get in, and they think it sufficient to kneel to the cross in the yard, and say their prayers, after church it is more of a frolicksome day than any in the week, and much more noisy. Aunt had cards at her house in the evening, but I did not chuse to play, in the afternoon Aunt, Betsy, Mrs. Wilmot, Mr. Macho and myself walked.

Monday, Apr. 13. Wrote a letter yesterday by Capt. Burton to Friend Joy, beging him to send a few articles, and likewise desiring him to look after my chest of cloaths I put on board of a Brig't bound to Nantz to the care of Jon'a Williams, Agent for our State there, and as I understood all French vessells were stopped I feel much afraid mine is among that number.

Tuesday and Wednesday nothing turn'd up worthy of notice.

This week is much observed in the Romish Church, all day at church, an old woman who was washing for Aunt told me that on Thursday the day before Good Friday, there was great form in washing the twelve Apostles feet, and advised me to go and see it; I accordingly went to Saint James, at ten o'clock A. M. A number of priests attended, perhaps fourteen, three of which appear'd to be for this ceremony, one of which three was the head priest of the Town. They first sung, or chanted Mass all kneeling, they then carried their God about the church as a sanctification of what they had said, continually throwing incence on it, the cloth (a table cloth) and napkins were then blessed by the chief priest with holy oil, the several priests received the communion, who were to assist in this form, and then Mass again. This was all done by the altar, they often sign'd them with the sign of the cross; after this all the priests came out, two and two, without the altar, where our communicants kneel down, the twelve who were to be Apostles were the poorest men of the town all in rags, they were sitting in a circle here, the table cloth was spread in their laps, which reach from one end to the other. they each had a napkin on their shoulders, they always burn numbers of candles in their ceremony, and when the priests came from the communion table they had lights in their hands. One of the three priests then took a bason, with hysop and vinegar, or water (I know not which) which was blessed by the priest, kneeling down to the first Apostle washed his right foot, his shoe and stocking being off while this was doing the chief priest with hands lifted up, offer'd some prayer, after he down washing the first Apostle, the chief priest kneeling down kissed this Apostles foot, the same form was shewed to the whole twelve. Each of the poor men had a loaf of bread given him, and I doubt not went of contented with what they had done to them, expecting that will absolve them from all their sins. The lights they use in their service signify that their God never dwells in darkness, and the Host or their God is always present.[1]

Good Friday 17th. All this week their images are cover'd to shew the penance and mortifications they must subject themselves to, and our Saviour on the cross is cover'd, a cloth with a cross on it without the body appears, no bells in the churches ring from Thursday morning to Saturday morning eleven o'clock, they pretend to say they are all at Rome to receive a blessing of the Pope against Easter. On Saturday 18th April the water is blessed for the year ensuing, which they call holy water. At the entrance of

[1] Cf. the account of a similar ceremony at Rome in Jonathan Russell's Journal, *Proceedings*, LI. 456.

every church on the right hand stands a font of this in which every one who enters dips his fingers and signs himself with the sign of the cross. Friday afternoon Couzin James Deslandes and I went to a chapel belonging to the Capuchin Friars to hear a sermon in French, he repeated two Latin prayers, but so fast I could not understand him, he then preached in French; walked afterwards, every evening we play whist.

Sunday, April 19. This morning at three o'clock I was waked by the ringing of all the bells in town enough to stun'd one, it was to announce our Saviour's resurrection. They tell me they have a great show in the churches at that time. At eight o'clock I went to church to see the communion administred, which is in much the same form as with us, save that the wafer they give they say is the real body, which the priest puts on the tongue, and the tongue goes to the roof of the mouth were it dissolves, they must not touch their teeth to it, if they do they say the blood will spurt out. The wine likewise they say is the real blood of Christ, whereas we only take it in remembrance of him. When a person of any note is a dying and desires the sacrament, (and I believe it is administer'd to every departing soul) the God, or the Host is carried through the street, which I have spoke of before, every Roman Catholic falls on their knees as it passes, the Protestants stand at a distance with their hats off. It is always preceded by a bell to denote its coming, when every one comes out of their houses, when the priest administers the sacrament, and puts the wafer on the tongue of the person; if they are so sick as not to be able to swallow it, or to desolve it in his mouth, the priest puts his tongue into the mouth of the sick person and takes out the wafer with his tongue; if the person happens to touch his teeth to the wafer, the priest pretends to say it bleeds and will be of no effect. Such is the misfortunes and afflictions of this life, that one need to be master of great philosophy to be able to withstand the several shocks and disappointments we meet with in our passage, but many things happen to us that comes so close that Nature itself recoils. I thought I had encounter'd so many disasters that Fortune wou'd now begin to smile, but I find by dismal experience that Happiness is not to be found here, and the duty of us mortals is in this time of trial to resign ourselves and our concerns to that Overruling Providence in whose hands, and from whom comes every decree, who rules the affairs of this world with almighty power, and orders every transaction for the advantage of his creatures in general. This day I received a letter from my Friend Michael Joy who is in London, in which is this most disagreeable paragraph: "I wish I had a less

melancholic tale to close my letter with, but friendship has disagreeable, as well as pleasant offices to perform. Frank Johonnot has a letter from his mother dated Boston, January 15, 1778, in which she writes, your good Father had been dead about three weeks. This event my good Friend your affectionate heart must feel; but the poignancy of affliction will be lessened by considering the maturity of your parent's age, that he has no children so young as to need his fostering care, and is past doubt happy in passing from affliction and trouble to rest and happiness. Such is the lot of mortality, and no one is exempt from that road."

Perhaps no one has meet with more trouble than my parent. He was born May 30, 1707, Old Stile.[1] He served his time to Mr. Cowell,[2] a Silver Smith in Boston, he always was fond of reading, and in the winter wou'd wake by four in the morning, strike a light and sit up in bed and read till it was time to open his shop, from his youth he was sedate and much turn'd to the moral way, he became acquainted with my Mother who came from England, and then lived with an old Aunt by the name of Minzies,[3] of whom more bye and bye. My Grand Mother Greene keep an English goods shop, and my Father often tended shop for her when he cou'd be spared from his master. But to proceed; in the year 1728 my Father became of age; the similarity of dispositions between my Father and Mother was such that they seem'd to be intended for each other; wether my Mother wou'd not have my Father unless he went to England to ask her parents, or whether it was his own notion I cannot say, but so it was he went over to England, proceeded to Brighthelmstone, this was the year he came of age 1728 in the summer, he without any difficulty gain'd my Grand Father

[1] Mr. Rufus Green. His picture and that of his wife painted by Copley, father of Lord Lyndhurst, are in the possession of my mother and hang in my bed-room. — W. Amory Prescott. 1859.

Rufus Greene was son of Nathaniel Greene (1679–1714) of Warwick, Rhode Island, who removed to Boston and married, February 27, 1703–04, Anne (*c.* 1685–1728), daughter of Thomas and Frances (Robinson) Gould. They had five sons: Thomas (1705–1763); Rufus; Nathaniel (1709–1792); William (1711–); Benjamin (1713–1776) and John (–). Anne is described as a "shopkeeper" and owned a house on Newbury Street, inherited from her father. Rufus (1707–1777) married Katherine Stanbridge (she died in 1768).

[2] "Billy Cowell's shop is entered by the Chimney, and a considerable quantity of Plate stolen," which was recovered. Sewall's *Diary*, II. 189. He was born in Boston, January 25, 1682, son of John and Hannah Cowell. See *New England Hist. Gen. Register*, L. 297.

[3] Catherine Menzies, whose will, dated April 19, 1732, left an annuity of £24 to her niece, Jane Stanbridge, "who now lives with me," and the rest of her property "to her loving kinswoman Katharine Greene, wife of Rufus Greene of Boston, Goldsmith." The will was probated in 1743.

Stanbridge's [1] consent, my Father after tarrying a while and settling a correspondence in England return'd to Boston, carried over with him many articles in the silver smith's business, and set up his trade. He married my Mother in December, 1728, and two more industrious persons perhaps never was, my Mother being so prudent she wou'd not allow herself a maid servant for many years, and the same room serv'd for kitchen and parlour. She one time heated herself so over the fire, that caused such a surfit she never after got clear'd of it; my Father after being about a dozen years a silver smith, being a little beforehand, and my Grand Mother dying, the five brothers shar'd about £300 Sterling a piece. He having children fast,[2] by the perswasion of my eldest Uncle Thomas [3] who was then in a large trade of the English goods, my father, and my Uncle Benj'a who serv'd his time with my parent, they two join'd my Uncle in business. They were concern'd considerable in shipping after a few years, each family grew large, and they wanting to increase their business, parted, my Uncle Thomas being much the most venturesome, in a few years made a large fortune but my Father was always of such a timid make he wou'd not venture but keep in a very snug business which was mostly supplying the retailers in the town of Boston. He now left of his shipping, the old Aunt Minzies [4] died about this time and left my Mother about £400 Sterling. The first loss my parents' sustained was a son by the name of William, a youth of thirteen years. He died 1754, November 20, and the next Monday morning, November 25, I was born, their fourteenth child. I was called after my brother so lately dead William. I forgot to mention my Mother buried an own brother from our house some years before this, by name Benj. Masters Stanbridge. My Father about this time sustained a great loss of estate by the failure of a house in business. In 1756 my eldest sister then living, married to Mr. John Amory a merchant, in the fall of 1760 my parent buried his eldest son Rufus aged twenty-seven years, who intirely transacted all his business, and it was thought it wou'd be too much for him to bear, but however Providence who always will support the upright, keep him under all his affliction with superior fortitude. My Father now was obliged to attend to his business closely himself, which was too

[1] The picture of Mr. Standbridge and that of his [wife?] are in my mother's house. — W. Amory Prescott. 1859.

[2] He had fourteen children.

[3] Thomas Greene (1705–1763), married Elizabeth Gardiner.

[4] John Menzies (her husband), died in 1728. A Scotchman, he became Judge of Admiralty in Massachusetts, in succession to Nathaniel Byfield. A brother was Registrar, and died on horseback. Sewall, *Diary*, III. 77.

much for him, he being of a very weak constitution, and not able to encounter any hardship. He had now a sufficiency to live quietly all his days, and began to contract his affairs. He never had ambition to appear in a office or any figure in life but approved of a snug domestic life; now my parent felt the strokes of adverse fortune, two or three persons breaking in his debt very largely. In August, 1764, departed this life my eldest Uncle Thomas, which was a great loss and affliction to my parent, they having the greatest brotherly affection possible for each other. (I forgot mentioning my second sister Mary was married to Mr. William Taylor son of the Reverend Parson of Milton.) [1] In 1768, January 10, died my ever dear Mother, aged fifty-nine, a woman of the most exemplary piety and unlimited charity. This was a shock to my parent which every one thought he wou'd not survive, but his principle supported him above the frowns of fortune. He considered that our Maker created us for a superior state, that this was only a preparatory one to what was to come hereafter, that we all must drop off one after another, and that she was only gone that way which he soon expected to follow. After this troubles seem'd to run close on one another. In 1771 died Mrs. Taylor, aged thirty-six, by misfortunes. Mr. Thomas Hickling,[2] my sister Sally's husband, to whom she was married about the year 1765, was obliged to leave Boston for the Western Islands, in a ship he built. His wife a little after he went keep Mr. Taylor's house; her two children a boy now about thirteen, and a girl [3] now ten were under my Father's care, the boy William at board at Lancaster, the girl lived at my Father's, in a little time [*two lines erased*] she died at Mr. Taylor's at the time Gage was arrived in the harbour to be Governour of the Massachusetts, her disorder was a consumption, aged thirty-one. Our family grew now small, one and another following each other to the Mansions of the Dead fast, in about eighteen months after departed my sister Ann a maiden at my Father's aged thirty-six. In May, 1775, Mrs. Amory went with her husband to England leaving behind ten children.[4] This was very heavy to my parent losing his oldest

[1] Rev. John Taylor (1704–1749) graduated at Harvard College in 1721, married Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. William was born April 8, 1735.

[2] The Boston Committee of Correspondence in November, 1776, issued a certificate of behavior to a son of Thomas Hickling, who was "desirous of going to his Father who is in some Foreign port." He was for many years United States Consul at St. Michael's in the "Western Islands" and his daughter, Catherine Greene Hickling (1768–1852), married in 1793, William Prescott, Jr. (1762–1844), and William Hickling Prescott, the historian, was their son.

[3] My grandmother Prescott. — W. Amory Prescott. 1859.

[4] *New England Hist. Gen. Register*, x. 63, 64.

daughter, they intended to return in a year. In March, 1776, my sister Martha was married to Mr. Taylor my brother-in-law. at the same time left Boston with the Troops belonging to the King of England. Things continued very disagreeable till May 19, 1777, when I left my parent. I was obliged to desire my Couzin Benj. to break to him my intentions of leaving Boston for a trip to the West Indies; it was some time before he would consent to my leaving him. At last he consented, when I arrived at New York after I was taken, I learnt the death of my sister Mrs. Katharine Amory in London, April 11, 1777. The Monday after my arrival came Mr. Amory as sorrowful a widower as ever was. A little after my being at York I received a letter from my ever kind parent couched in the strongest terms, expressing his sorrow at my being taken, hoped I suffer'd no loss, and recommended his good advice. The middle of August I learnt the death of my sister Betsey who was the only one with my parent, she died July 31, 1777, of a complication of disorders, aged thirty-six. Now my parent was left alone, and I was much grieved I left home. As we cannot look into future events, I endeavour'd to think all was for the best. I left N. York in September, arrived in London in November, and now I have heard the death of my only parent who died about the last of December, 1777, as I can learn. I now must proceed home with the utmost expedition. I am in daily expectation of my Friends Joy and Johonnot here from England to go with me I hope all the way.

Now to continue my journal. There is no variety here, so that Monday and Tuesday produced nothing worthy of remark. I became acquainted within these few days with Mr. [*blank*] who was born in Antigua but had lived most of his time at Philadelphia, and N. York. He has his family here, a Lady and four daughters. He is a strong friend to the Liberties of America. He was so obliging to offer to introduce me to the Commandant of this town, which was a compliment I chose to pay.

Wednesday, Apr: 22. Mr. [*blank*] waited on me to the Castle were the Deputy of this town lives, a very old building. The Governour never lives here only his Deputy. They are always one who belonged to the Army, and always commands the troops in this town, the Government through France is altogether arbitrary and govern'd by the Army; the present Commandant is an old Officer has been Leiut: Col: and now takes the title of Count de Tilley, he behaved very politely to me, asked me some questions by my interpreter Mr. [*blank*][1] as the Count cou'd not speak Eng-

[1] Bellons?

lish, dined at Couzin John Deslandes, Couzin Betsy with me, we had a roast turkey, but it was dresst very poorly, and very durtyly. Mr. Bellam dined there, tea at home.

Thursday, 23. In the morning Mr. [*blank*] called on me to walk and we conversed much on the American Dispute, and our conclusions corresponded with each other much. After dinner called on Couzin Stanbridge, we went to St. James Church to see the Procession of the Young People who all this day partook the Sacrament in the town, so young as ten and eleven years old, and every year they likewise renew their baptism vow, all their prayers and singing is in Latin, so that there is not one in a thousand understands one word of what they say, they chant altogether, the children of the three Parishes meet together a large number and a good sight, they walking through the streets with the Holy Cross carried before them by a young priest, and a dozen or fifteen priests between the ranks singing as they go alone [along] and paying adoration to this Cross every one must take off their hats as the procession passes. Thus they go thro' every church and chapel in town, and to every Cross in the place as a kind of a penance. This is performed every year at Easter. After they passed I went into the church and viewed it all round, called on Mr. Bellam return'd the magazine and news paper I borrow'd of him, tea in Mrs. Wilmot's room Chamber heard this day that a fleet of twelve ships of the line and five frigates had saild from Toulon the 13th inst. their destination was not known, but supposed to be to America, that the evening they sail'd a person in disguise went on board, no one knew who it was, some imagined him to be either Mr. Franklin or Mr. Deane.

Friday, Ap[ril] 24. Friday. Dined this day at Mr. Mackening's by invitation, a very genteel entertainment, two chief officers of the troops here, one talked very good English, between three and four I left them.

Sunday, Ap[ril] 26. Saturday and Sunday nothing worthy of remark, save a Sunday morning the head officer paid me a visit for a hour and a half, he appears a sensible man, we had considerable talk. Dined this day Sunday at Mr. Bellons the English interpreter here. He is [a] chattering person, talks tolerable English, after dinner came Couzin Stanbridge and Lady, we [had] tea at Mr. Bellons and tarried till nine o'clock, we supper'd at Couzin Stanbridge's, home half past eleven.

Monday, Apr. 27. Disagreeable weather, felt quite unwell and very heavy, walked much in the morning, after dinner Mrs. Wilmot, the English Lady who lives above stairs, and Couzin Betsy and my-

self went to a convent to see the nuns. It was a hospital for the sick, the one we went to see is second couzin to Betsy. She told us she had not stirr'd out of the door for forty years, and never desired to, she was very cheerful and agreeable, her parents were Protestants and they intended to bring her up in that religion, but about ten years of age she was taken away by force by order of the King, and put into a convent, where she has been ever since. It is very common for Protestant people to have their children taken from them and bro't up in the Romish religion. We tarried here about half an hour, and then home. In the morning I see a topsail vessell coming in, thought it was the packet. Tea this afternoon with Mrs. Wilmot, after tea was over the maid came up and told me two gentlemen wanted me. I went down and found them to be Joy and Johonnot, whom I was very happy to see. They left Brighton last evening at nine o'clock. The news they told me has made me unhappy, they first brought me word I was not likely ever to recover my cloaths again which I had put on board a vessell bound to Nantz, and which was stop'd at Ramsgate, and the other news was a thunder to me, they told me the fate of Mr. Amory which is too much. I cannot continue on this subject. I went with them to the Hotel Desperance.

Tuesday, Ap[ril] 28. Waited on Messrs. J. and J. about the town, into the churches in the afternoon walked to Arck viewed that ancient Castle, returned and tea at Aunt's, they tarried till nine o'clock.

Wednesday, 29, as we intended to set off for Rouen on Thursday, I was obliged to take leave of a number of acquaintance in the morning, we went to St. Jaques at eleven o'clock to see a couple married, the priest spoke so low cou'd not understand a word he said, the two saxtons appear'd to have more to do in the performance than the bride and bridegroom, it keeps us about an hour, Couzin Betsy and Mrs. Wilmot was with us. After called at the Ivory Toy Manufactory, the ivory is very neat, bought a few trifles, din'd at Aunt's, Mr. Joy, Johonnot, Couzin Stanbridge and John din'd there, we had a roast turkey, à la mode beef, plum pudding etc. In the afternoon we all went to the nunnery, were an relation of my Aunt's husband is a nun. This is a hospital, so we were admitted into the room with her, a very sociable, chatty woman. She said she had been in that house forty years, without putting her foot into the street, or even over the threshold of the door.[1] We staid there about half an hour, then to another nunnery, bo't a pin-

[1] I have mentioned this nun and Hospital in page 21 [*supra*]. Note by writer of Diary.

cushion, from thence to the Nunnery of Urselines, the Superior of which is an Irish woman Madam Guillea, and talks very good English. Three or four years since she went over to Ireland in disguise to appoint a Superior there, and when she return'd they created her Superior of this Convent. They are chose by ballot by all the nuns every three years. I talked much English with her. From thence to the Franciscan Convent of Friars, then to tea, us men spent the evening with Mr. Michau by his invitation at the Three Sailors Inn near the Exchange, we had a most extravagant and elegant repast, home about twelve, took leave of my Aunt and Couzin, in bed by half after one. Thursday, April 30. Up by six, rozed up Joy and Johonnot. Breakfast over we had each his horse bro't out, mine was a very Bantis horse to the life, we rig'd ourselves, Mr. Openheim, Mr. Joy, Mr. Johonnot and myself. My horse from Dieppe to Rouen which is twelve leagues cost me six livres, eight sous. Provender is found for the horses on the way. I think this the much best manner of travelling, as you have a view of the country, which is beautiful beyond description, and is much the cheapest; we stopped at Fort [*blank*] six leagues from Dieppe, called half way, we had some soup, very good broil'd pigeons which are amazing plenty, cyder and a bottle of wine, and it cost no more than fifteen sous each, if you give two or three sous to the maid it is sufficient. Our horses were very ill looking creatures, but they carried us tolerable. The country from Dieppe is a garden, and exhibits a continual variety of the most delightful prospects imaginable, the roads good and broad, there appears very few cross roads. Arrived at the *Baton Royal*, in Rouen at five o'clock. We immediately had the perruke called, our hairs trim'd, and went to the Play House with boots and spurs on, the play was called Mahomet,[1] I could not understand French and by that means lost the relish of it, the house holds as many people as Drury Lane, and is extremely handsome, much cheaper and well performed, we were in the second best box, and it cost us thirty sous each, as good a place as in the House, the only fault I find is the House is not lighted enough, the play was finished about nine. Supper we had a roast fowl very good and large. The house we are in is very durty, but the provisions they afford us is good, and well dressed.

Friday May 1. Friday morning out by half after ten, viewed the Bridge of Boats which is curious, and elegant, from thence to the Cathedral, an old and venerable pile said to be built by the English. At dinner we had a friend of Mr. Openheim's, at whose house we called, from thence to the Play, see a very good comedy called the

[1] It was probably Voltaire's "Le fanatisme, ou Mahomet le Prophète."

Two Brothers, and an entertainment the Magician. I am very fond of this House, think it a good building, over by nine o'clock. When I came to my lodgings was glad to find my trunk arrived.

Saturday, May 2, 1778. Mr. Openheim's business prevents our leaving Rouen till Monday. The city of Rouen is very large and populous, the houses thick and high, the streets very narrow and extremely durty, about one and a half miles in length, the breadth in the broadest part about a mile; the streets are so narrow, the houses so high, and the people so durty, that it exhibits a large necessary place where all filth is thrown, the smell is intolerable. I think in summer it must breed a sickness, I wou'd not live in it for the world. The widest street is not so good as Thames Street in London, or New Guinea in Boston. The gentleman with us, Mr. Carpentier, computed the number of inhabitants to be one hundred and twenty thousand souls; but I find they are keep in such ignorance with regard to their Government, that in short they appear to know nothing about it. I cannot suppose the inhabitants to be so many, but the houses are so well stored, that I believe they amount to eighty thousand souls, perhaps a hundred thousand. The rain descends by spouts this morning, our house being so disagreeable we had rather be wet and stifled by the stinking smell than remain at home, we stroll'd to see the statue of Joan d'Arck, which is much defaced by time but justly stands in memory of the woman who saved France from a foreign power, it stands in the Marché aux Veaux, the very place were she was burnt by the English in the year 1431. We return'd to our lodgings, were we remain'd the remainder of the day, the rains not permitting our going out. I forgot mentioning that the bell of the Cathedral, called George Amboise's,[1] is ten feet in diameter, and weighs thirty-six thousand pounds; the tongue only they told us weighed nineteen hundred pounds. The greatest curiosity of this city is the Bridge of Boats, two hundred and seventy yards long, paved with stones, which rises and falls with the tide. It was contrived by Nicholas Bougeois, an Augustin Fryar; the boats are placed a broadside of each other, with an exile at each end that runs in a groove made in an immense pile, which is driven into the bed of the River; by these means the boats have only a perpendicular motion; and each boat having a separate pavement solves the difficulty, which staggers belief, at the first mention. On the other side of the bridge is a delightful walk with four rows of trees along the river side, exhibiting a fine prospect of the city, and the small vessells above the Bridge that are drag'd to Paris by horses. One of the boats of the bridge being

[1] Cardinal Georges d'Amboise (1460–1510), or his nephew of the same name.

took out which is not difficult any vessell may pass. The walk before mention'd is one mile in length, on the whole the city of Rouen is a large place, but the most durty narrow streets, stinking people, and uncooth high houses I ever see, and I should think myself very much punished to be obliged to live in it; but the invirons of the city is without doubt pleasant.

Sunday, May 3, a warm muggy day and much rain, dined with Mr. Carpanter, Mr. Openheim's friend, with a genteel dinner. By the little I have seen the French are much more extravagant in their entertainments than the English, having three times the number of dishes of meat, besides desert etc. After dinner in the evening we went to see the Rope Dancers and Tumblers, a little of which satisfied me, and glad was I to come to my lodgings. Hope tomorrow to leave Rouen for Paris, cannot tell in what manner yet, as it depends on the weather.

Monday did intend to set out this morning, but the rain came down so powerful. Mr. Openheim called at the Coach House to take places in the stage which leaves Rouen twelve o'clock at night, and arrives at Paris at six the next evening, called thirty leagues post, but is but twenty-eight leagues. The places being filled we concluded to set off at four o'clock Tuesday morning.

Tuesday, May 5, left Rouen in a boat drawn by a man for Port St. Owen, two leagues, the boat cost forty sous. The wind being against us we went so slow, and it being so cold we were glad to leave the boat and walk when we had been drag'd two miles, breakfasted at Port St. Owen a small durty shabby place, we carried tea with us, either we should not been able to get breakfast. Here we hired horses for Roule, gave two and one-half livres each, here we dined, took fresh horses for Bonnièr[e]s three livres each, six leagues, here we arrived at seven, and now safe moor'd for the night; the road between Rouen and here is a meer garden, paved most part of the way excellently, with room on each side for three carriages with rows of trees on each side, large elms, this scene you can see for miles on a direct line, which with the delightful prospects on each side is beyond idea beautiful, many miles we ride by the side of the River, which increas'd the view; we passed thro' several large towns, but the houses and inhabitants were alike miserable.

Wednesday, May 6, took horses and left Bonnièr[e]s at half past six the horses we took for Poise,[1] ten leagues. A man set of the time we did to bring back the horses, we overtook him three miles from Poise and then determin'd to go as far as St. Germains and told the man to follow us there, who was very willing to on our

[1] Poissy.

promising to satisfy him for his trouble. We arrived St. Germains before two, din'd at the Prince of Wales, the man reach'd us at half past two, only eight hours coming eleven leagues, which is more than four miles an hour very great, as we drew nearer Paris many Noblemen's Seats appear'd, looking very well, the vineyards must be reviving. When the vintage comes on, Normandy makes large quantities of a small red wine, [for] which you give from ten to fifteen and twenty sous per bottle. I think the Inn Keepers are the knavishest sett I ever met with one asked us forty sous for a bottle of wine, thinking us English and thought she might impose on us, but our companion Mr. Openheim, speaking excellent French, and being perfectly acquainted with their ways, made her take fifteen sous for that she asked forty. A stranger need take great care, for he is subject to many impositions, perhaps more here, than any part of Europe. After dinner we walked in the Royal Gardens, and those of the Marq's de Noailles. They are extensive and clever, but not to be compared to Kensington; the Royal Palace is a large and ancient pile of buildings, much gone to decay, the Royal Family never comes here, but it is filled by gentlemen many that left England in the Rebellion of 1745; St. Germains is a large and handsome town, there is much pains taken in improvements, as the nobility and gentry come here from Paris in the summer season on parties of places, there is a large Manufactory of Hoes [hose] and Caps carried on here. When we came to our Inn we see a white Negroe with white wool on her head, that was shown for a sight it was a curiosity, as I never see one before. About five we took a coach and three horses for Paris for which we gave [*blank*] besides twelve sous each to the coachman always customary, it is called four leagues to Paris, but I believe it to be five. One person keeps coaches for Versailles, Paris, Fontinbleau, Marly, and several other places he farms it, and no one else is allow[ed] to set up a coach. We took the Water Works at Marly in our way, which are admirable and beyond account curious, after viewing them a woman explain'd every thing to us, for which we gave her twenty-four sous. These Works supply Marly, Versailles, St. Germains etc. From hence we proceeded to Paris, our coach was examin'd at Boulon about one league from Paris, here we arrived about eight o'clock, we put up at the place directed to — Rue de Richleu, Hotel d'Orléans, which looks into the Palace Royal Gardens, a most delightful place. We walked in the Garden before bedtime. Vast numbers of people resort here for walking of all kinds.

Thursday, May 7. In the morning I delivered my letters to Mr. Deslandes, who offer'd all the assistance in his power to me

while I was here, we din'd at the Hotel de Bourbon an ordinary with Mr. P. Amiel [1] whom Mr. Joy met in the Garden Royal, the greater part of the afternoon was taken up in getting our trunks from the Custom House; the diligence that comes from Rouen, on its arrival sends its baggage to the Custom House, where the owner must go and sign his name, which is an increase of expense before he can have his trunk. The whole of this day has been taken up in strolling about, in the evening we went to a coffee house, drank some beer, and eat some cake, and then retir'd to rest.

Friday, May 8, as soon as dresst we sent to the coffee house for breakfast. A man brought coffee, bread, butter, and cost us sixteen sous each. We then discharged our lodging, at the amazing price of eight livres each for two nights, we took coach to Passy to visit Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams when we reach'd Passy we called on Mr. Austin [2] and Mr. P. Amiel. Mr. Austin inform'd us that Mr. Adams was then gone to be presented to the King by Dr. Franklin. This was a great disappointment to us, as we shall have to go again tomorrow, we dined with Mr. Austin and Mr. Amiel after tea Mr. Jos. Waldo,[3] who din'd with us, Mr. Austin, etc. walked towards town, we took the Thuilleries in our way the gardens are very pleasant. After two or three turns, we walked to the Garden Royal from thence home to our new lodgings [for] which we are to give forty two livres per month two chambers etc.

Saturday, May 9, morning we took coach for Passy for which [we] gave six livres, we first waited on Mr. Adams, who receiv'd us very genteelly, but he has not wore off the natural restraint which always was in his behaviour, we tarried with him half an hour, from him we went to Doctor Franklin's apartment, he receiv'd us like children, and behaved to us with all the complaisance and tenderness imaginable, we were above half an hour in free discourse with this venerable man on our departure he desired our company to dinner the next day being Sunday; Doctor Franklin is above the common stature seventy-three years of age with his gray locks, quite fat, in good health, a fine constitution, eats very hearty and enjoys company, in general he is very reserved, but in company, and after

[1] There was a Peter Amiel, a lieutenant in the Continental Navy.

[2] Jonathan Loring Austin (1748–1826).

[3] Joseph Waldo (1722–1816) is described by Sabine as a merchant of Boston and a loyalist. A Joseph Waldo, son of Cornelius Waldo, removed to England in 1783, according to the *New England Hist. Gen. Register*, XVIII. 318. A Joseph Waldo married in Boston, in 1762, Mrs. Martha Jones. *Boston Record Commissioners*, XXX. 327; but the *Boston Evening Post*, March 15, 1762, says that she was Miss Martha Jones, eldest daughter of John Jones, a merchant of Boston, a young lady with a handsome fortune.

dinner, he is free and sociable. Mr. Austin who introduced us, told us after we came out we were much honor'd, for he never see the Doctor so free and conversant before. We intended to wait on Mr. Lee,[1] but his being from home, prevented us. We return'd to town in our coach, we dined at a eating house in St. Honoré. The people knowing we were strangers, cheated us intolerably, the afternoon was imploy'd in strolling about.

Sunday, May 10, after we had dresst ourselves, we set out first for Chilot on foot, I could not help laughing to think, that we were walking three miles to see the Ambassadors from the United States of America, but as prudence was our guide, we could not afford to coach it. We called on Mr. Lee at Chilot,[2] his situation is very pleasant, he was in his garden in his morning dress reading. I never see the gentleman before, neither did he know us, we sent in our names, the servant came back and desired us to walk in to the garden. Mr. Lee receiv'd us very kindly, and enter'd into close conversation for near an hour, from thence (after walking till two o'clock) to his Excellency's Dr. Franklin. He was alone reading, after seeting a little, we took a turn in the Doctor's garden. I think it is as fine a situation as I ever see, and most delightful gardens, we were soon join'd by more company, here; we walked till dinner time, some went in and play'd at billards. Our company were, the Doctor, his nephew a young man about twenty-six, his Excellency John Adams Esq'r, a Mr. Milworth and Lady, Mr. Joseph Waldo, formerly of Boston, now belonging to Bristol in England, Mr. Thomas Brattle, Mr. Loring Austin, a French gentleman, and another stranger I knew not,[3] Mr. M. Joy, Mr. F. Johonnot, Mr. Adams' son,[4] and myself; we had a treat, all was jovial, pleasant and appear'd happy, in the afternoon a number of ladies from the neighbourhood came in, and took us all to walk, in the Bois Boulogne the old Doctor still so fond of the fair sex, that one was not enough for him but he must have one on each side, and all the ladies both old and young were ready to eat him up. On the whole I think him an honor to his country, and it has been much thro' his means that America has so far succeeded in their Independency. When we arrived at our lodgings we were tired with our day's work, it is curious to think how different we now spend our Sundays to what we formerly did at Boston, then to church all day, and not to walk till after sun sett, now either going to the play, into large company or some amusement to kill time, astonishing

[1] Arthur Lee.
[2] Chaillot.
[3] Written above this phrase is, Mr. Coffin [Francis Coffyn] of Dunkirk.
[4] John Quincy Adams.

what different customs in different climes. I hope I shall keep fast my integrity in the midst of every temptation, I shall meet with; I suppose there is no country who study pleasure so much as the French, in the Lent time when plays are omitted; the bull baits and other amusements as disagreeable to the sight of a humane person are performed, on Sundays particularly; this nation from the height of superstition are dropping fast to no religion at all, such is the effects of the Romish Priest; Sundays are the greatest day for all kinds of frolicking in the week, the best plays, the best company: the most amusements are on a Sunday. I think when it gets so far it is to the discredit of a nation.

Monday, May 11, Mr. Deslandes called on me at nine, soon after came Mr. Tailor according to order, dressed in a full suit of black and ruffles, his tail wig like our lawyers, full powder'd with a silk chapeau de bra under his arm, such a burlesque is intolerable, however I agreed with him to make me cloaths, afterwards went out bo't linen for shirts etc. We din'd at table de hote de Bourbon, in Rue de Petite Champ, we had a most excellent dinner, seven or eight dishes of meat besides a desert, and a pint bottle of wine before each plate; there are number of tables. When there arrives a table full then the provision is brought up, at our table sat twelve. It cost us two livres three sous each. We had Abbeys [Abbés], Knights of the order of St. Louis, and other great men at dinner with us, many of fashion frequent this house; in the afternoon Mr. Deslandes with us we went to see the Cathedral (Notre Dame) which is a noble, ancient building, built by the English. This is built in form of a cross, one hundred and thirty yards long, forty eight broad, and about forty yards high; the whole supported by one hundred and twenty beautiful pillars, the paintings and figures are grand and casts an awe on the mind at the view of them; a most remarkable figure is on your entering the church at the right hand, a colossal statue of Saint Christopher, carrying the Infant Jesus on his shoulders. This statue is twenty eight feet high, hewn out of a rock; an odd ornament I think for a church. Here you see an equestrian statue of Philip Le Bel, armed cap-à-pie as at the Battle of Mons, which you may probably think as great an impropriety as the holy Giant. The altar is admirable, and beyond my description. The hearts of Louis 13th and 14th are interred in the choir: their statues are in a kneeling posture on the right and left of the grand altar: after seeing every thing worthy of observation below, we ascended to the top, from whence we had a fine view of Paris; and I think it not near so large as London, there is not the least regularity or order in it, but a multitude of houses jumbled

together in a strange manner, very high, with shocking narrow durty streets, in which if you do not take the utmost care you will certainly be knocked down by the carriages, which are very thick, the gutter being in the middle of the streets, and the sides of the way not the least guarded from the coaches and carts; add that the stones are so slippery you can hardly walk; the streets stinking extremely bad, that in short I think Paris take it all together is a very disagreeable place, and where I shou'd never chose to live. From the Cathedral we stroll'd to the Bouillivard, which surrounds about half the City, with four rows of trees, the middle for coaches, etc. the side path for walkers here resort vast numbers of the inhabitants in the evening, many of them the common people. I can give no account of the numbers here, but it was amazing. All along by the side are coffee houses, and other houses, which are full. I wonder so many frequent this place as I by no means think it an agreeable place, but much filled with dust from the carriages; the other walks and gardens far exceed it. After tireing ourselves very much we retir'd home. I forgot to remark, coming from Rouen we meet with number of waggons loaded with cotton, and drawn by mules, which came from Nants and Marseilles, had been from there a month, an amazing way to convey by land.

Tuesday, May 12, brought a note from his Honor Arthur Lee, Esq'r, desiring our company to dine with him to morrow. The morning was taken up in going to shops and settling with the tailor; we din'd at an eating house by ourselves; then we viewed St. Roch, in Rue St. Honoré from thence to the other side of the River to St. Sulpice, which is a noble church, the pillars without are admirable. They are now rebeautifying it; within are many fine pieces, over the grand altar is a superb piece representing Glory with Cherubins and Seraphins etc., two large shells which contain the holy water was given by Louis the 14th. Over the altar hangs a most superb canopy, and many other things worthy of remark, which I cannot remember. After viewing it in and out, we return'd to lodgings.

Wednesday, May 13th. About twelve o'clock we went over the Bridge to see the Hospital for Invalids, founded by Louis 14th for two hundred Officers and three thousand Soldiers, a noble pile of buildings this. It is surrounded by piazzas, very convenient in rainy weather, but what is most worthy of remark is the Chapel belonging to it, the dome is reckon'd to be the best structure in the City. It would be in vain for me to pretend to describe the paintings on this magnificent dome. The twelve Apostles are drawn with each his instrument of martyrdom in his hand, the cupola

represents an infinite number of saints, and angels adoring the Glory in the center, where St. Louis is offering his crown to God. This dome is surrounded by four smaller ones, but equal in elegance to the large one; one represents the Life of St. Ambrose, and the other three different pieces. The pavement is the choicest marble inlaid with great beauty. The grand altar is supported by six twisted pillars, cover'd with gold, over which is a sumptuous canopy. Before the altar is St. Louis washing the feet of a beggar in embroidery of needle work, the pulpit is gilt in the most superb manner. The Chapel is worthy the observation of every stranger who comes to Paris. After seeing what we thought worthy of notice we crossed the Sein in a boat, took coach at the end of the Thuilleries for his Honor's A. Lee, where we were engaged to dinner. Twelve of us filled the table, all Americans but one. Capt. Emery of Exeter was there, we had an excellent dinner, the conversation was general and on present times. At seven o'clock we took our leave, walked thro' the Elysium Fields, the Thuilleries, to Palace Royal Gardens, between nine and ten we retir'd to our lodgings.

Thursday, May 14, by appointment we mett Capt. Emery in the Palace Royall Gardens at one o'clock to dine together at a table de hotel we went to de Bourbon, Rue Petit Champ, eight Americans together. After dinner we drank a dish of coffee at the coffee house, then to the Italian Comedy, from thence to Wauxhall, joining to the Boulevards, makes a very brilliant appearance. This place is open'd on Thursday and Sundays, from six till ten in the evening, the plays begin at half past five, and finish at eight for the convenience of those who go to Wauxhall. As I never see Vauxhall in London, I do not pretend to determine, but gentlemen who have seen both, say it is in imitation, but vastly inferior to it. The whores are as thick as flies with us in the summer, painted as much as possible. In the middle room was musick and dancing. Here we tarried till ten o'clock, and then retir'd. On the Boulevard are two Play Houses, in which a number of youth of both sexes are educated for the other Play Houses by the King's expence, in these are acted frequently small plays.

Friday we hired a chariot for half a day for which we give twelve livres, a shilling to the coachman, and three livres for his dinner, as we went to Passi, at one we enter'd our carriage, called on Mr. B[r]attle and Mr. Waldo, who were to dine at the same place with us, they in their carriage and we in ours drove to Mr. le Grand's[1] at Passi. Here we found a brilliant company. Mr. le Grand is banker to our Ambassadors, and his purpose, as I understood, was

[1] Ferdinand Grand.

to have all the Americans who were in Paris. Our table was very elegant around which was placed thirty one in number, twenty three of which number were Americans; their Excellencies Benj. Franklin, A. Lee, and John Adams Esq'r, a Mr. Issard,[1] who goes to Tuscany, his Lady and two daughters, Mr. Lloyd and Lady of Charlestown, two Gentlemen, Mr. Fendall[2] and Mr. Bricko [Briscoe], of Maryland, a nephew of Dr. Franklin, a nephew of Mr. Lee, Mr. Joseph Waldo, and Mr. Tho. Brattle, Dr. Smith of N. York, a Mr. Pringle[3] who goes Secretary to Mr. Issard, Mess. Joy, Johonnot and myself, and eleven French. We were very jovial, and pleasure appear'd in every countenance. The house is called de la Chaise, from a story they have of Louis 15th. One time when he was a hunting, he had occasion to ease himself, a person brought him a necessary chair, he said that house shou'd be called la Chaise, which it has been ever since, and the statue of Louis 15th on horse back stands always in the garden, the place where this happened, it is copper and small, it was put in the middle of the table. Many after dinner danced, and some play'd at cards, chess, etc. I did not. At six we left the company. Mr. Austin went in our carriage to Town. We immediately stopped at the Italian Opera, near the Palace Royal. The scenes were admirable, the dress elegant, and the musick charming. I was enchanted beyond measure, think I never was so pleased with any thing of the kind in my life. After the play we called on Capt. Emery, were obliged to be at lodgings at nine o'clock, expecting Mr. Openheim to wait on us, he arrived there a little after us.

Saturday, 16 May. at twelve walked to the Place Royal, mett Mr. Emery, and other Americans, we dined together at the table de' hotel St. Thomas, Rue St. Thomas, after drinking cofee at the coffee house we four and Mr. Coffin belonging to Dunkirk enter'd Mr. Emery's coach and to the Luxembourg Palace to view the pictures, some of which are admirable. The Palace is very much gone to decay. The King has given it to his brother the Count de Provence, who intends repairing it. It will cost an immense sight of money. This Palace was built by Mary of Medicis, wife to Henry 4th. The large Gallery is almost filled with paintings relating different stages of her life, (done by Rubens in two years). There are many other pieces in this room, which far excell the other rooms. There are three rooms smaller in which are some good, and many bad pieces. The rooms are open Wednesdays and

[1] Ralph Izard (1742–1804). [2] Philip R. Fendall.
[3] John Julius Pringle (1753–1843).

Saturdays afternoons till seven in the evening, when any person is admitted gratis. I have observed the gardens before, they are very pleasant. After viewing as long as we chose we drove to the Palace Royall, and from thence to the Thuilleries. It not being agreeable weather, we *afterwards spent the evening in company with Mr. Emery and Capt. Le Mair.*[1]

Sunday, May 17. We left our lodgings after one, walk'd in the Palace Royal Gardens, from thence to the Rue St. Thomas to dine, at lodgings in the afternoon, waited on Mr. Waldo and Mr. Brattle in the evening, who was to set out for London same night, we then walk'd thro' the Thuilleries and the Quarter of the Circuit of the City, return'd to lodgings at ten o'clock, very wearied.

Monday May 18. Sent a coach to Passi to fetch Mr. Austin to view a number of places. We set out about twelve o'clock, we first made the Glass Manufactory, Rue de Reuilli. We examined the different stages of the glass which is very curious, from its being ruff to the finishing off. It is brought either from Picardy, or Normandy, were it is first cast ruff, and here goes through the different operations until it is polished, fit for the quick silver which lasts four weeks. They then put it into the magazine; the manner of putting on the quick silver is, they have a small piece of tin the bigness of the glass. This is beat out by a hammer to an almost nothing for thinness; they then lay that on the place on a very smooth slab, they then spread a quantity of quick silver over the tin, the strength of which intirely eats up the tin; after this is done, they lay a strip of paper along the edge on the top of the quick silver, the design of which is, by laying one end of the glass on this paper and pressing it past the paper over the quick silver, leaves exactly the thickness of the paper, of quick silver on the square of tin and under the glass. This remains a certain time till the quicksilver is closed to the glass, and has destroyed the tin, then it is ready to be fram'd. It would take a long time for one to describe the manner of polishing the glass, suffice it to say it is done by rubbing two large pieces of glass together, a great weight on the top, and different kinds of sands between. They have them from ten feet in height in one glass, which is the largest size, down to almost an inch, the prices from six sous to eight thousand livres per piece. This like every manufactory of consequence is engrossed by the King, the manufactory has been one hundred years in being. An old woman conducted us about, we gave her twenty sous, and twelve sous apiece to two men who were working in the rooms. From thence we drove to the Hotel de Monies, alias the Treasury, and

[1] Jacques Le Maire.

Mint. We see the different instruments and hands the money goes through before finished, but as they were not coining, we were deprived of the pleasure of seeing it; the Chapel belonging to it, is very neat, and remarkable for the paintings looking like carved work. It is small, and very plain. This is a fine building. After we had finished here, it was two o'clock, we accordingly order'd our coachman to drive to the table de hotel de Bourbon, price forty two sous, and two sous to the waiter, from thence to the coffee house drank a dish of coffee price five sous. The coach came here for us. We cross[ed] the Ponth Neuf to the Fauxbourg St. Jacques, we passed by a new church not finished, which exhibited a compleat piece of architecture without, but in the inside was not done. We did not alight. We went to the Church of the Carmelites, esteemed the most curious in Paris. Of this order of nuns, the Queen herself was protectress. It is a small Chapel, with a profusion of gilding and painting in imitation of marble. The sides of this Chapel are totally cover'd with pictures of the greatest masters, but the masterpiece of the whole is the picture of the Duchess de la Valiere, mistress to Louis 14th, who had the virtue at thirty years of age to prefer to the arms of a young Monarch, this little Convent, where she retir'd when in the midst of her glory, and continued in it 'till her death which happened thirty six years after. Neither intreaties nor threats cou'd perswade her to return to his arms, and when he threatned to fire the Convent for the sake of getting her, her answer was, it wou'd be a means of freeing the other nuns, for her part she wou'd be burnt in the flames. She is described like a Magdalene weeping with all her jewels at her feet, in the most languishing situation possible. I think I never saw a piece so expressive in my life, it almost drew tears from my eyes. The altar of this Chapel is of silver, the whole ceiling is coverd with paints, in short I never see such a small place so full cover'd in my life. The names of the pictures on the sides I intend mentioning in a future page. From hence we pass to Val de Grace, across the street. It is a grand church, and by many thought to be one of the first in Paris, but I cannot say I am of that opinion. The grand altar is undoubtedly worthy of notice, the canopy of which is a crucifix is supported by six twisted pillars, marble pillars, fixed in an oval form, and ornamented with a gilt wreath; under the canopy the Child Jesus lies in a cloak, with the Virgin on one side, and Joseph on the other, whose looks are expressive of the greatest humility, reverence and affection, these figures are as big as the life in marble, and executed in a masterly manner. There are many other pieces in this church, which I do not recollect. In the same

street is a Convent of English Benedictins [1] — eighteen members. "In this Chapel lies in state" (in the words of a traveller) "that silly Fellow James, not yet buried; for his Followers, as weak as their Master, think that the time will come when his Family shall reign again in Britain. He therefore lies ready to be shipped off for England, to sleep with his Ancestors in Westminster Abbey." They likewise shew James' head in wax taken just before his death. There lies another coffin in which is enclosed his daughter Louisa; [2] the room is hung with escutcheons of his Family. The man who shew us was a Brother and spoke English very well, he did not refuse a present. From thence we stretch'd our selfs to the Sorbonne, it was built by Cardinal Richelieu, in which are appartments for thirty six Doctors, who judge of the orthodoxy of publications. The Church is worth seeing on account of the monument of Cardinal Richelieu supposed to be most expressive anywhere known. In the center of the choir is the tomb. He reclines on a mattress, clothed in a loose robe of inimitable drapery. Religion supports his head, while Science sits weeping at his feet. The figures are as large as life (by Girardon [3]). The tears from Science's eyes dropping down appear to be life itself and is inimitable without a doubt. The body of the Cardinal, with the mattress, and the figure of Religion, are all chiselled out of one slab of marble. It being so dark while we were here, we had not an opportunity of seeing the paints. In the Church are many chapels one of which contains entomb'd the Richelieu family. From hence went to the Thuilleries, up and down the Gardens. Mr. Austin walked home, and we enter'd our coach and drove home like kings. The paintings in the Chapel of the Carmelites are so worthy of notice, I cannot help mention them here. As you enter on the right side, the first picture is Lazarus rising from the grave by the call of our Saviour (by Champagne [4]) a most admirable piece. The admiration of the multitude is very evident, and the countenance of our Saviour shews the greatest grandeur, sweetness, and humility. The next is the Presentation in the Temple, when Simeon takes the Child Jesus in his arms, and utters those most excellent words "Lord now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy Word, for my eyes have seen thy salvation." The next is the Adoration of the Wisemen, or as the Romish call it the Three Kings, very fine collours. The

[1] Better known as the English Benedictine church of St. Edmund. The heart, brain and bowels of the late King James II, were distributed among four other institutions, and they and his body have been lost, except what was placed in the parish church of St. Germains.

[2] Louisa Maria Theresa, d. 1712.

[3] François Girardon (1628–1715).

[4] Phillippe de Champagne (1602–1674).

fourth is the Ascension of Jesus Christ, the astonishment of the spectators is beautiful. The fifth is, the Apostles gathered together, and the cloven tongues on each head. The one nearest the altar is the Birth of Christ, and the Shepperds paying their homage. The innocence of the Infant in the manger, and the delight that appears in the face of Joseph and Mary is great, and worthy of remark. On one side of the altar stands in full length in marble the Prophet Elijah with a raven bringing him meat, on the other side stands in full length St. Teresia in habit of a nun. She was the Foundress of the Convent. These two are fine pieces. On the left is first the Annunciation, the paints are good, the Appearance of our Saviour after his Resurrection, his Conversation with the Woman of Samaria at the Well, his Temptation by the Devil in the Desert, our Saviour entering Jerusalem on an Ass. This picture does credit to the painter. Mary Magdalen washing the Feet of Jesus and wiping them with her Hair, the parable of the five thousand feed with the Loaves and Fishes — these are on the left side. All the pieces are indisputably grand. In one of the little Chapels is Joseph setting and the Angel sent to tell him he must take Mary to wife, while she appears big with Child, his appearance is grand, to think the shame that wou'd come to him on his marr[y]ing a woman with child and not by him. The whole is a collection good, and worth seeing. They have put too much in so small a Chapel, neither on the top nor the sides is there room left for a pin's head. Over the door in marble is Saint Michael driving the Devil from Heaven. I had almost forgot one of the best sights we see this day, the Royal Manufactory called the Gobelins or the Tappestry Manufactury (Faubourg de St. Marcell) which exceeds by far any thing known. The work is admirable, the figures is beyond conception, the colours so bright and the countenances so expressive that it exceeds the picture they take from and which always hangs behind the man at work, and what is most extraordinary they always work on the wrong side. The exactness of the men's hands at the loom is surprizing, all the work is for the King, they are commonly three years about one piece.

Tuesday morning, May 19, paid our respects to the Commissioners at Passi they were all there together in Mr. Adams's apartment, dined at the Hotel de Bourbon. I acquainted the gentlemen with my intention of leaving Paris next week for Nants, from thence to go in the first vessell for Boston, and offer'd my service in carrying any letters, or executing any commands they wou'd please to honor me with. Dr. Franklin told me he shou'd have some letters to send by me. Nothing extraordinary turn'd up to day.

After dinner to the Coffee House de Conty, and then walked in the Thuillieries till after nine; and tho' I have nothing particular to mention of this day's observation, yet as *Yorick* says he is a stupid traveller that goes from Dan to Beersheba, without gaining some knowledge, and having something to say on what he has seen, let it be ever so small, I cou'd not but admire the beautiful prospect of the Statue of Louis 15 in the Thuillieries thro' the great walk, in the evening, and the bason of water with the spout throwing water up a considerable height adds much to the sight. The Place or rather Square of Louis the 15th is at the end of the Thuillieries were his statue stands, he on horseback supported by the four Virtues. It is but an indifferent piece when you draw near it. It is a proverb when a person sees the statue (made by a sailor) that *Vice* is on horse supported by the Virtues on foot. There are but four Squares in this City, Place de Louis 15th, Place Royall, Place des Victoire, and Place Vendôme. The Royall Square is the most ancient, built by Cardinal Richelieu, to perpetuate the memory of Louis 13th, in 1630. It is surrounded with a Piazza, like Covent Garden; in the center is Louis 13th on horse. On the inscriptions which are of white and four is more to perpetuate the name of Richelieu, than of Henry the Just. The next is the Place of Victory in honor of Louis 14th in 1686, with the statue of him on foot, Victory is crowning him with laurels, and four slaves chain'd to the pedestal which supports the statue; the inscription is full of bombast, mentioning victories he never gain'd, of his conquests, which more properly speaking were defeats. The last is Place Vendôme where stands another statue of Louis 14th on horse back. About the middle of the Pont Neuf stands the Statue of Henry the 4th on horse back, his figure is admirable. The people have such veneration for the memory of this Prince, that most of them pull off their hats when they pass his statue. In the middle of this bridge stands a house which is called the Samaritan, and is a reservoir for the water that supplies the City. By what I have heard there are not a dozen fountains in this whole City, so that water is carried about in pails to sell, which must be disagreeable, especially in summer. On passing this bridge it is remarkable you may always see a priest, a whore, and a white horse, this is a common observation, and I often found it verified.

Wednesday morning, May 20, we walked to Passi and dined with a Mr. Parker, in the afternoon took coach for Luxembourg, walked through the rooms, viewed the pictures again, then in the Gardens which I admire, they are extensive and laid out in great taste. The rooms in the Palace of Luxembourg are open'd only Wednesdays,

and Saturdays in the afternoon, when every person is intitled to see the paintings gratis. A man is in the rooms who has to sell for twelve sous a book of the pictures. After walking some time in the Gardens, I went with Mr. Parker to St. Sulpice, a grand building, and not far from Luxembourg, of which I have mention'd before. I parted with the gentlemen at the Pont Neuf, and went to my lodgings. Joy and Johonnot were there before me, they having parted from us, we three walk'd afterwards in the Palace Royall's Garden, and then called on Capt. Le Mair tarried with him about an hour, engaged to breakfast with him on Friday.

Thursday, May 21. Settled with my tailor and woman who made my shirts, met J. and J. in Garden of the Palace between one and two, dined at the Hotel de Bourbon, at Coffee House after dinner, as we come into the French custom of drinking coffee. We then separated, J. and J. went to Passi, I to lodgings, wrote to Blan[chard] and Friend Dowling, in the evening to the Thuilleries and Palace Garden, at lodgings before ten. The Gardens and walks are always full, with company well dresst.

Friday morning, May 22, eleven o'clock went to the Palace Royall to view the paintings belonging to the Duke of Orleans, the pieces of most of them are admirable. This Palace was built by C. Richlieu, given to Louis 14th and is own'd by the illegitimate race of that King. There are four rooms besides the great gallery; it is sup[posed] to be the first collection in Europe. The number of them are so great that I cannot mention one eight part, a few of the best are the Death of Adonis, Joseph and Potiphar's Wife on brass, the varnish is wonderful, the Virgin, with our Saviour and St. John, esteemed the most capital, (by Raphael) this is a small picture, St. John looking at our Saviour, who stands on a distant mountain, the Baptism of our Saviour, Alexander sitting up, in his bed, with the bowl in his hand, his physician standing by him; the intrepid confidence in the eye of Alexander, and the conscious integrity that marks the countenance of Philip, is remarkable. Venus bathing standing up to the knees only in water, the golden tresses flowing negligently on her neck, by Titian. As a writer says "she is indeed a Goddess; for never was a woman blessed with such symmetry, such beauty. If you may judge of the man from the painter, Titian indisputably had the most wanton imagination of all artists, for you see nakedness in almost every piece of his; but then it [is] such a nakedness that the eye of Modesty would not wish clothed." Many more worthy of notice appear'd, but these suffice for all; the apartments themselves are large, but by no means grand, they are going to decay fast. The Garden joining to this Palace is not large,

but very agreeable where resort multitudes from twelve o'clock to three, and in the evening; dined at the Table d'Hotel Bourbon, Rue Petite Champ; at the Coffee House afterwards; we were at lodgings great part of the afternoon, in the evening we walked to Chaillot, called at Mr. Parker's, he not at home, return'd home by ten after a walk in the Thuilleries.

Saturday, May 23, called on Mr. Witehall, from thence we went to the Louvre. The paintings which are numerous, are old, much abused, and by no means come up to my expectation. The Palace itself is greatly out of repair, and not worthy seeing. This Palace is one of the many pieces of extraordinary things which Louis 14th begun and never finished. Dined at Hotel Bourbon, and Coffee House, in the afternoon we strolled about, to a number of churches in some we found good paintings, and in some bad. The Assumption, which belongs to a Convent of forty Nuns, we by holding the curtain a[t] one side, (before the grate, which divides the women's apartment from the Church) see the Nuns at prayers, this Church is round and points up with a dome, there are some good paintings in it, but all the Churches bear such a resemblance, that when one sees Notre Dam[e], St. Sulpice, Geneva, the Chapel of the Carmelites, he sees all in a manner. After we had strolled much about, we return'd to lodgings, to provide to go to Versailles to morrow.

Sunday, May 24. As we had engaged a coach on Saturday evening to be at our lodgings at five o'clock this morning we were up and ready, no coach came till eight. All that time we waited, and were very tired. We set out for Chaillot to take up Mr. Parker and another gentleman, but our horses were so bad we dismissed the coach. What to do we did not know, three miles from Town, such numbers of people gone to Versailles and Marly, most of the coaches were taken, and near ten o'clock. However at last the landlord of the House found us a coach, we got off about half way when we were obliged to stop for passport, otherwise we could not go to Versailles in that coach, had much difficulty in getting a passport, as it was a hackney coach we were in, and they will not allow any to go from Paris to Versailles. We proved we took the coach at Chaillot, on account of the one we had not answering, and a gentleman who was in the office speaking English, when the coachman got his permit he gave six livres for it the rules. We reach Versailles between twelve and one, we immediately procured a coach for Marly, the fare thirty sous each person, and we gave the coachman twenty four sous amongst us; we found we were not likely to see the King and Queen till after four, and that only passing from the Palace to Chapel, we went to dinner in a House before the Palace,

and had the honor of dining with valets de chambres, shoe makers, tailors, etc. belonging to Court. We had no idea what company we were going to, but when we had enter'd we cou'd not retire. We found we cou'd not enter the Chapel, and we had to return to Versailles to see the Palace and Gardens. We were fearful we shou'd not see the King however we keept by the Palace, see the King's two Aunts go to their coaches, they look in years, very plain dresst and very homely; their coaches were drawn by eight fine horses; between four [and] five o'clock came the King, the Count de Provence, and the Count de Artois, with others of the nobility. I did not know who they were. I was near the King, and had a tolerable view of him, he is a homely man with a large nose, and very ruff face. If I did not know his age, I shou'd have thought him near forty. The Count d'Artois is comely looking young man. They passed into the Chapel, were many dignified clergymen were not admitted. One I see with half a dozen stars I believe about him, who conducted the King to the Chapel, did not go into the Chapel, but kneel'd down in the Porch; about a quarter of an hour after the King passed by the Queen with a number of her Ladies, the Countess de Provence, Countess d'Artois etc. The Queen is tall, a good looking woman, but I do not join with many to think she is very handsome. The Queen did not appear to paint much, the Ladies were shockingly colour'd up. I must suppose it hurts the skin greatly. As ever she enter'd the Chapel the croud rush'd in to the Palace, (which is very small and but a box). This is a privilege every one is allow'd, when the King is not there, to stroll about from one apartment to another, and which it's said wou'd be dangerous to deprive them off. The Palace of Versailles is the same. This small privilege they have for those invaluable rights which they are deprived of. We had walk'd thro' the House before, and as our time was short did not chuse to go over it, we walked round the gardens, parks etc. which are beautiful, and beyond description, the prospect over the country, the basons of water playing, the statues, falls of water, grottos, all exhibits the most romantic scene, and most pleasant I ever see. After staying as long as time wou'd permit we took coach at five o'clock for Versailles. When we arrived we had a conductor, to shew us the Palace, it is esteem'd one of the first buildings in Europe. It is certainly an amazing pile, but prodigiously out of repair, the inside is by no means equal to what a palace of the King's should be, most of the apartments are very durty, their Majesties bed and dressing rooms are tolerable, but I cannot say I think there is that elegance there ought to be. There is a fine picture of Louis 15th in full length, work't in tapistry, likewise the Em-

peror of Germany in tapistry, and the Queen's Mother. We see the Palace at a disadvantage, as the workmen were repairing and cleaning it, and not before it wanted, many of the apartments stunk intolerably. The Count D'Artois lodges in the range of apartments. From hence we went to the Halls of Treaties, a range of neat rooms, where all the treaties are keep, these are very neat, here hangs the pictures of all the Prin[c]ess of Europe. We viewed the Opera House, liked it much, the Grand Gallery being in confusion, the pictures down, the workmen cleaning it, they told us its present state it was not worth seeing, the Chapel being shut, and I believe we did not apply to a proper person, so we were deprived [of] seeing it. The stables are in two parts, and are a noble pile, in short, the situation and view of the Palace and buildings belonging to it appear grand, and majestic without doubt. The Gardens which we next enter'd are without doubt grand, and are not to be paralleled: as all the beautiful models that Italy, or the world could produce were consulted to make them complete; the Water Works especially must be superb when they play, which is only at the time when the King is here. Marble and copper statues spouts up water in different forms which falls into marble basons of exquisite workmanship. The Fountain of Pyramid, the Cascades, the Water Alley, the Water Bower, the Triumphal Arch, the Pavillion Fountain, the Theatre, and Apollo's Bason, where Louis 14th is represented under the character of that god, just come out of the bath, and six of his favorite ladies assisting him with linen etc. are exquisite that nothing but a view can raise an adequate idea of their various beauties: the groves, grottos, labyrinth, and orangery, are all finely contrived. The grand canal is 1600 yards long. Such was the ambition, such the extravagance, and such the pride of Louis the 14th who built this as well as all the palaces; that he undertook buildings he cou'd not finish (for instant the Louvre) and those he did finish, they cost the Crown such immense sums of money to keep them in repair, that they rather the Palaces shou'd go to decay, and I may say they cannot afford to keep them in that repair they ought to be in; the water here and at Marly is supplied from the Works at two leagues distant from each place. These are called the Water Works of Marly, and they annually cost the King for keeping them in repair twenty five thousand pounds sterling. A prodigious number of people were walking in the Gardens, and amusing themselves in the Park at different games. The company on Sundays far exceeds any other day, as this day is intirely devoted to pleasure by all ranks and conditions. We had not time to walk about the town. It appears to be very pleasantly situated. After refreshing ourselves with

cake and wine, we took coach for Paris, we had four horses, it was about nine o'clock when we left Versailles, the fare, three livres, ten sous each, and twelve sous each to the coachman; Stage coaches goes from the Bureau near the Pont Neuf, Fauxbourg St. Germain, every hour on Sundays to Versailles and Marly, and when there is four persons, that is a coach full, they can oblige the coachman to go at a minute's warning. I wou'd advise those that go to chuse this way rather than hire a coach for the day, for here you may be sure of going with expedition, whereas if you hire a coach for the day, you stand a great chance of having bad horses as was our case: As every one goes on a Sunday, and strangers want to see the King and Queen, and Versailles, and Marly, if the King is at Marly, which is about six weeks, at this time of the year, I wou'd advise to go to Versailles first, dine there, see every thing worthy of remark before dinner, and as soon as dinner is over take coach for Marly, when they will have a good oppertunity of seeing their Majesties going to the Chapel, and perhaps walking in the Garden: we reach home about eleven o'clock. I cannot but observe that we see amazing crouds of people walking as we came from Marly to Versailles, and from Versailles to town, all along the road, the numbers beyond all account.

Monday morning, May 25, rain for the first time since I have been in Paris, did not go out till two o'clock, to dinner at Hotel Bourbon, and then to Coffee House, walk to the Bureau and engaged a seat in the coach for Nants to go Thursday night twelve o'clock. Gave thirty-six livres for earnest, return'd home at seven o'clock, and did not go out again for the night.

Tuesday, May 26. As soon as I cou'd get out after breakfast, I walked to Passi called at Dr. Franklin's and Mr. Adams; did not find them at home — gone to St. Germain, likewise Mr. Lee. I was sorry as I intended acquainting them of my leaving Nants on Thursday. I left a card with each. From thence I walked back moderately to the Palace Royall Gardens, Johonnot was there, soon came in Joy. We directly went to dinner at Hotel Bourbon, after dinner at the Coffee House, in the afternoon called on the Bankers to procure money for a bill I had, then to the General Hospital, walked thro' many apartments, see some poor miserable creatures drawing their last breath, and others in different stages of sickness. Every thing was very clean, all I disliked in it was many lay three in a bed; this is a hospital for every one who being sick chuses to be put in it, they say the number in it often amounts to ten thousand; We also attempted to get admittance to the Foundling Hospital, but could not, it is a large Foundation. In the year

1776 was carried to this Hospital 6000 children, so that it appears that one-third part of the children born in this City are natural children, amazing, but not so much so when one reflects on the number of common women there are here, it is an observation among themselves, that every other woman they meet belongs to that class. We stroll'd about from street to street thro' this disagreeable City till dark, and then to the Palace Royall Gardens, afterwards called at Mr. Coffin's lodgings, (of Dunkirk) and then to our own lodgings. I cannot but observe here how little the shop keepers attend to their word, and how little they care for their own credit, for if a stranger goes to buy any thing, it is a great chance if he is not cheated, for the price they ask you, you must have no attention, if you offer them one half of what they ask, you may be sure to offer the full value of it if not too much. The other day I stopped at a shop to purchase a trunk the man asked me fifteen livres for it. I offer'd him ten for it, he did not hesitate long, but took it, and if I had offer'd eight it wou'd have been all the same, tho' I did not pay dear for it; on their asking a price for a thing, and offering what you think it is worth in Paris, (for some articles you can purchase cheaper here than in London, viz. silk hose, and silks of all kinds, cambricks, shoes, etc.) you will make as if you intended to leave the shop. The best of silk hoes double heel, Paris manufactor, twelve or thirteen livres, the best of shoes they make four livre, ten sous. I will be whipt if they let you go. A thing of remark is the politeness and delicacy of the French of both sexes, and these may both go under one head. I have heard a woman of character talk freer on a subject of not the greatest delicacy, than I shou'd have thought the sex was capable. I have seen a man at the table de hotel were we dine, take his knive he eat his dinner with, and scrape his face all over, as if he was a shaving himself with it, and at another time stur his snuff round with the same knive, and directly after cut a piece of meat with it. The language of the women of character before the men is surprising free. I have seen a man well dresst with his bag, laced vestcoat, and ruffles of lace turn down his breeches before all the company in the Luxembourg Gardens. A gentleman wou'd think nothing of helping you to meat with his fingers instead of forks, and a common thing is to make a fork of fingers when he cuts up meat. The insides of their houses is shockingly durty, the stairs they never pretend to wash. I dare say most all the houses never think of cleaning their stairs, and that they never have been done since the building of the house, every part is alike filthy. Even in the Piazzas and courts and entries of the palaces you will see the drop-

pings of a man in every corner, and such a stinck you will be obliged to hold your nose. The streets are quite as bad, so very narrow, the gutters in the middle, and such numbers of carriages passing, that it is with the utmost difficulty a person can walk. The sides of the street are not parted by posts from the middle, but the carriages if you do not take great care will run over you; they tell me that in winter many persons are run over and killed by the carriages. Paris on the whole is a very disagreeable place. There is not one quarter of the lamps there is in London, and those in the middle of the streets, and the shops for the most part make no better appearance than ours in Boston — in short I think a man must be distracted to compare Paris with London.

Wednesday morning, May 27, paid my address to the Commissioners, receiv'd letters from Mr. Adams to his family, the Doctor's letters were not ready, called on Mr. Austin, and thence to Town, dined at the table de Hotel Bourbon, Rue Petite Champ, at the Coffee House after dinner. As it rain'd cou'd not walk about but retir'd to our lodgings. I wrote to Dieppe.

Thursday morning was taken up in preparing my cloaths and other things for Nants, dined at the table Hotel de Bourbon, in the afternoon carried our baggage to the Bureau de Diligence of Nants, Rue D'enfer set of in the coach at twelve o'clock at night, eight passengers, a disagreeable time to set out. At day light, half past two, discover'd our company was a curious scene, one a nodding this way, and another that way, but the beautiful prospect of the country roused the whole. Our set were Mr. Barker of North Carolina, born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, Mr. Stewart of Virginia, a young lady, an old Chevailier, an odd character who I believe was a spy from the French Ministry by his actions, a very sensible man and not a bad companion another gentleman, Mr. Johonnot and myself. We breakfasted at [*blank*], arrived at Chartres at twelve o'clock, twenty-two leagues from Paris, set out at half past two, put up at La Loupe for night twenty-eight leagues. We were obliged to leave Chartres by three o'clock Saturday morning, we found our company very agreeable. Mr. Barker I was much pleased with, a sensible, sedate, sociable man, and each one exhibited very droll characters. At ten o'clock we breakfasted at Bellême here we left the Chevaillier, a worthy old gentleman, who I respected much, we took up a priest. At seven in the evening arrived at Le Mans, a large and very handsome town, I was pleased with it. The provision on the road in general very good, and tolerable dresst, we wou'd have soup and bully, which is an everlasting dish, roast veal, poullet, pigeons roasted, peas sallad, a desert of

cream, almonds and raisons, and cake with half a bottle of wine a man, and a bed each, for forty five sous each person. We left Le Mans at half past one Sunday morning. Le Mans is a very large town, and the Capital of the Province of that name. We breakfasted at La Flèche, departed from La Flèche about ten, and reach Angers at half past four in the afternoon. Before I depart from this City I must mention relating my coming in the coach, as a warning for all persons when they go for Nants from Paris in the stage, to pay for no further than Angers, as there the coach stopps; when I went to the Bureau in Paris, as I was a stranger I was obliged to depend on the people there too much, I paid by their order, (10 li. being allowed in baggage), I paid 4 sous 9 denier per m. from Paris to Nants. I also paid 73 livres, 18 sous for my fair from Paris to Nants, 58 livres is the fair from Paris to Angers, if I only paid that, it wou'd been well, and I shou'd have been at liberty to go what way I chose from Angers to Nants, (a conductor goes with the carriage with six and sometimes eight horses, you give to the conductor about half a crown each, the post boys as they change, which is irregular, sometimes in two leagues sometimes in four, you give four or five sou, or nothing as you please). But it being thus, when we arrived at Angers, which was the middle of the afternoon, we were in hopes of setting of immediately, they told us at the Bureau we should not set of till next morning, and not to reach Nants under a day and a half when we might with ease compleat it in one day. Monday morning Mr. Barker, Mr. Steward, Johonnot and myself were stuck in a cabriola, with three horses, a man on one, and what was most provoking the horses did not go faster than the walk all the way. Angers is the Capital of the Province of Anjou and a large city. Monday morning left Anger at six o'clock, breakfasted at St. George; dined at [*blank*,] supped and lodged at Ancenis, left Ancenis Tuesday morning at five, arrived at Nants at two, went to the Hotel St. Julian were we dined. Nants is about ninety three French leagues from Paris, and is in the Province of Bretagne south west from Paris on the River Loire about ten leagues from the Sea; ships must unload before they come up, there being but nine foot of water oposite the Town. The Town is large and very pleasant. They tell you it contains one hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants. I suppose if you deduct one third, it may be near the number. The face of the country from Paris to Nants is most beautiful affording to the eye one continual variety of every thing delightful, and the roads were so fine that I am much pleased with the country.

Wednesday morning, June 3, was taken up in looking after a

lodging, and procuring my trunks from the Bureau, for when we reach Anger we were obliged to leave our trunks to go by the waggon, and the keys with them to be examined on the road. We found our things in order, dined with Mr. Johnson,[1] a gentleman who belongs to Maryland, he has his family here, tea there, eight in number set down at table all Americans, but Mrs. Johnson, at new lodgings by eight.

Thursday. We had breakfast in our own chamber, dined at Madam Bouchers with a number of Americans, she keeps boarders, give her forty sous per dinner. Most of the Americans here belong to the Southward. I was much disappointed in finding none of our northern gentry here. Nants is a place of very large trade and is certainly a pleasant place. The day before I arrived, the Frigate *Providence*, Capt. Whipple,[2] came here from Providence after she had run the fire of the Fleet at Newport. I can learn no news from home, but that they are in good spirits, and that the necessaries of life were growing cheapper fast.

Friday and Saturday dined at our Club in the afternoon tea at Mr. Johnson's, she is a very pretty woman. I strolled in the Wood Dilonia, a romantic place and appears form'd to pour out the tender strains of love, in short all France is one continual grotto, grove, alcove, and pleasant walk, and altogether calculated for the pleasure of man, a plenty of every luxury of life you may see on their tables, and I repeat, what I have before said, that if the Constitution was free, the people their own masters and not governed by their priests, it wou'd be the greatest Kingdom, by far in the known world, but that Being who pours in on us the blessings of this life with a bountiful hand, restrains his hand for fear least we make a wrong use of the kindnesses we receive from him, we mortals must not expect happiness here without an alloy seeing no one of the human race were ever exempt from the misfortunes and troubles of this life; It is for a good end that we meet with crosses and disappointments in our course; that we may put a just estimate and value on those blessings we receive from our Maker for the greatest happiness we receive here, without a mixture with it, would loose half its value.

Sunday, June 7, 1778. A state of suspense of all others is the most disagreeable and a person in my present situation wou'd call all the curses (that ever Tristram Shandy made against Obadiah,) on the heads of those that were originally the causes of the present

[1] Joshua Johnson, a brother of Thomas Johnson, Jr., of Maryland. His daughter was the wife of John Quincy Adams.

[2] Abraham Whipple (1733–1829).

Unhappy Affairs, wou'd it affect any thing; now I have reached Nants there appears no more probability of getting home than six months past. A week before I arrived, sail'd a number for Boston, and my ill luck wou'd make loose an oppertunity which I may not have renewed for months to come, unhappy me, one continual run of misfortunes, attend me wherever I go. I hope to have patience to pass through my trials with fortitude, and resignation to the Superior Power.

Monday and Tuesday produced nothing worthy of notice, we concluded to go to Painbeuf the next day ten leagues from Nants to see Capt. Whipple, and the *Providence* Frigate; accordingly on Wednesday morning June 10, we, that is a Capt. Lunn from Virginia, Johonnot and myself set off on horse back at half past seven, we stopped on the road once, reached Painbeuf at two. We that afternoon went on board the Frigate, with which I was much pleased, we drank tea and coffee there, tarried till nine, got the old Capt. half seazed over, bro't him ashore to our lodgings, Madam Vendersluise. We met on board a gentleman by name Kar Michael, a Scotchman, who was a hearty rebel in 1745, and quitted his country on that account, brags much of his cause, he is very sociable. The Capt. insisted on us all dining with him on Thursday, we went at twelve o'clock, had a very good dinner, and was very chearful, staid to tea, and then retir'd. The Capt. appeared happy with a number of his countrymen around, and urged our coming to see him soon again; Mr. Kar Michael, who lives at Pelrain, half way between Nants and Painbeuf, insisted on our stopping to dine at his house on our return.

Friday morning left Painbeuf at nine, reach'd Pelrain at twelve, the old gentleman was very glad to see us. He has two daughters born in France, who speak good English. Here we dined, it being Friday we had only fish, but fresh and good. It is very pleasantly situated with the River in view; we left these agreeable people at three o'clock, extreem warm ride we had; reach'd Nants six. On Tuesday last wrote to Mr. Dowling: and sent it by post. Painbeuf is the place were the shipping lays as there is not depth of water sufficient at Nants, ten leagues distant from Nants, the Road is very safe for a great number of ships. Here a sloop of war generally keeps at anchor.

Saturday up about nine, breakfast, get our hair dress'd about twelve, and commonly go on the Exchange by one. Here a vast number of men are collected of various denominations, some for business, but more I believe for pleasure, from twelve till half past one, when dinner calls them, as it does me, from thence we went to

Madam Boucher's, were we meet a number of well breed genteel men, three or four Americans. At three we left Madam Boucher's for the Bois Deloni a most agreeable walk, found a douz or fifteen Americans most of them seamen, a racing, jumping, etc. At five we stroll'd to our lodgings had a dish of tea, then to walk on the Exchange, Cour, etc. till nine o'clock, this finishing the day. In mentioning one day, I mention every day, so much alike do we spend time.

Sunday, June 14. How very different the customs and manners of one nation are from another, what in one Kingdom is reckon'd death, in another is esteem'd laudable, and a character, that in one nation wou'd be applauded to the skies, in another is condemned to condeign punishment, we mortal creatures are not able to account the reason the supreme Being made such various notions and ideas in the world, and happy is it for us we are not. This day of all others in the week is the most keep for festivity, rejoicing, and all manner of diversions, all the walks are filled with high and low, rich and poor, many kinds of plays and amusements are on this day. In one place by the multitude, you may see a Quack Doctor displaying forth his abilities, and offers to serve the poor gratis, in another quarter, a man who pretends to drive a nail through the head of a sheep, and curing the sheep immediately. Again a man mounted on a stool displaying to the simple multitude his abilities in musick, in another place a man and woman on horse back singing, or repeating some ballad, and many more as ludicrous and silly as those and then to believe, which is a truth, that the King maintains these people for the very purposes. I can give no reason for it but this, that on every holiday and Sunday these amusements keep the common people from thinking, and looking into their religion and constitution which are much alike, for the same Monarchy and Arbitrarism reigns in one as in the other — poor creatures, they are happy because they know not their own misery. A time will come, when their eyes will be open, and they see plainly those obsticales which now so much depress them. Dined at Madam Boucher's, Capt. Lunn drank tea with us, walked in the evening, at lodgings by nine.

Monday and Tuesday, June 15–16, the number of Americans here some thing consolate for my not being able to get a passage. I this day had the pleasure of a letter from Brother Taylor dated N. Y. March 8, he had receiv'd accounts of my good Father's departure from mortal to immortality, mentions poor Mr. A.[1] Patty was very poorly, confined to her chamber a long time, she had not received

[1] Amory.

the disagreeable news, fear it will be too much for her tender nature. Such is the present unhappiness of our family, a family which misfortune sticks close to. Oh Gracious Being, may thy Infinite Wisdom fit and prepare me for every event in this life, and for a departure from it to a better. I likewise at the same time received a letter from Couz: G. Greene dated Antigua Oct'r 1777 which sent to N. Y. and forwarded to England by G. T. my Friend Blanchard sent them to me from London. Such a sameness marks every day, that I have nothing to remark, am sick of France, the people and their manners. At present not one opportunity offers for our State, all for the Carolinas, an expence I cannot think of. This day, Tuesday, Capt. Lunn, a worthy young man breakfasted with us, we tea'd with him.

Wednesday at old Place of Parade for dinner, in the afternoon at the four Nation Coffee House at billiards, called on Mr. Kelly, an Irish Abbé, agreed with him to teach us a month French, for a guinea each twice a day. He appears very jolly and sociable. He mention'd the grand procession to be to morrow. Lunn drank tea with us, walked on the Bourse, or Exchange, the ladies always collecting there in the evening.

Thursday, June 18. This day in the Romish Church is the first Feast in the year, and kept accordingly, in French it is called Fête Dieu, in the English calendar Corpus Christi. It is not taken notice of in Protestant countries. A procession of this nature being new, we determined seeing it; we breakfasted with Capt. Lunn, us three set out, like children to see a Poppet Shew. The shops all shut, all *servile labours* omitted, the streets were thronged with the lower class of people mostly, the numbers were immense, and as we drew near the Cathedral, the thicker the crowd, the procession was to begin at the Cathedral. We enter'd, found our Abbé among the crowd, he told us that was not the place for sight, but we must either get into a house, or a good place in a street through which they were to pass and added that this day we should see numbers of *useless beings*, so little do the priests themselves believe in the numerous rites and ceremonies of the Church of Rome. We placed ourselves very well, closs to one of the resting places for the God, (which is expossed this day) the place built like a pyramid, very much ornamented. The procession was first the different companies of the City, such as haberdashers, woollen, Linen Merchants, etc., all with wax tapers (not burning) then followed ten or fifteen large machines, pyramid-fashion, carried on men's shoulders, with drums beating, fifes playing, etc. The next were the councellors, lawyers, etc., friers and abbots of different orders, some of the

friers look'd droll enough, and would have excited much laughter, had I dared, then the curates, the crosses, banners, superior order of priests, the Host, frankincense, etc., then the bishop, and a few priests of the highest order. They had a band of musick, and kept singing most of the time. When they came to this resting place for their God (of which there was a number in different streets through which they passed) they stopped, repeated a Mass for the occasion, and shew the God to all the people. I was obliged to kneel down in the street while the priest was blessing the people with the Host in his hand, the windows of the houses all around were filled with ladies, some very handsome. Every one stuck before their houses the best pieces of tapestry they had; from the tops of the houses on one side the way, to the tops of the houses on the opposite, canvas was hung, to keep the sun from the procession, and those in the windows threw rose leaves in abundance on the heads of those passing, the whole was comic enough, and answers to shew the superstition of the Romish countries. Capt. Lunn counted upwards of four hundred priests and friers. This ceremony is performed in every town in France. At Angers about sixty miles from here, three thousand priests walk. How much better if seven eights of these priests served the King in the Army, or Navy, that wou'd be doing good to their country, but at present all they do is to endeavour to deceive, and keep in error their fellow creatures and to be examples of the greatest debauchery and most licentious lives. The eyes of the French begin to open with regard to religion, the King this year, I understand, has taken six feast days from the Calendar. They proceed as fast as prudence will permit to throw off the many superstitions they use. Six or eight months past the priests fear'd an entire alteration in religion, they were obliged to take great pains to prevent it. If I say there was twenty thousand people to see this show, I believe I speak within bounds. Lunn tea with us.

Friday and Saturday old tenor. Sunday, June 21. I must join with the people here in doing something on this day, believe that writing must supply another employment. I did not leave my chamber untill half past one, the time of dinner. Had an addition of two new gentlemen at our table lately from England, the one an American, the other an Englishman going to America. I drank tea with Mr. Briskco a gentleman from Maryland, after tea we walked to the *Cour*, an extreem pleasant walk, has a most delightful prospect of the country across the River The crouds of men, women and children which were recreating themselves as usual on this day were amazing, it seems as if the Sabath was solely a day of diversion and play. The Cour and the Exchange were both very much

thronged with ladies, many very handsome, and much dressed. I think I have seen more fine looking women here than in any place I ever was in, but my thoughts are always at home were my presence is so necessary. The idea of the different scene I shall behold on my arrival, formerly, a Parent, with sisters, and a house to go to, now all dead, family broke up, and myself very probable will be obliged to put up at an Inn. Alas me, what will happen next, God only knows.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday nothing worthy of remark happened save the account of an English and French Frigate firing pop guns at each other, the French came off second best. This was in the Bay. It being the first engagement suppose a warr will follow soon. I think it has been keep off a long while, neither side being in a condition for a Declaration, the British having more than they can master with the Americans, and the French they always think of former warrs and fear the approach of another. The people here are so ignorant of their state affairs, that there is no such thing as learning the state of their Navy, but believe from what little I pick up it is in a better state than ever it was before for warr. The British at present swarm the seas with their castles. Admiral Keppell is a cruizing with twenty-two Ships of the Line under him, and Byron with fourteen Ships of the Line under him, besides the large Fleet in America and other stations, an amazing Navy equal to all Europe by sea. War seems inevitable, what will be the end God only knows.

Saturday. I went in company with Mr. Fendall and Abbé Kelly, an Irish Priest (my French Master) to [*blank*] a village twelve miles from hence where we dined at the Inn, a shocking place. Abbé Murphy, uncle to Mr. Kelly, waited on us, we walked about the town, a very indifferent place. Mr. Fendall came to find a place to learn French in. The Abbé is a hearty fellow and good companion who loves to crack his jokes, and speaks very free on many *subjects*. By his account I learn that the priests are the most dissolute sett of people in the Kingdom, and the most debauched morals, and their being prohibited marriage is one great inlet to their immorality. Strange and unaccountable, that those who by their orders are for to instruct mankind in their duty, and lead them to Heaven, they who at their consecration makes the most solemn oaths at the altar to the Supreme Being, of chastity, morality and every virtue to intitle them to be the head of a flock, that they who are inlightened by revelation and devoted intirely to the service of God, that they shou'd be so wanting of that morality which even the heathens keep sacred, such is the religion

of the first Christian Country and the greatest part in Europe, that the priests believe not a word in the service they perform. That Providence whose goodness is over all his works, he sees, and knows, and in his hands I leave those things which to me are hard to be understood. On Sunday we dined at a ladies in the town, had a genteel dinner, and very politely received, after dinner went to cards, the priests set the example, and it appeared more like a public day of rejoicing, than of devotion. Mr. Murphy is Chaplain to this lady. About six we returned to lodgings.

Monday morning about ten o'clock set off on foot for the River to go to Nants in a boat, walked about six miles. When enter'd the boat row'd by two men the wind, it soon rain'd very hard. After reaching one leag: we were obliged to stop to dinner. By the time we return'd to the boat the men were so much in liquor that they were unable to guide the boat tho' we were in the stream, she went from one side of the River to the other (about half a mile broad) twenty times. We thought ourselves happy to get on shore and walk to Nants about five miles were we arrived at six o'clock evening. We spent three days very agreeably and found the Abbe extreemly agreeable. Such a sameness every day happens, that I am not furnished with writing. Have at last concluded to go in the *Providence* Frigate, Abraham Whipple Commander, who sails the last of July.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday. Arrived a vessell Friday, July 3, in twenty-four days from Maryland, which brings accounts that G. Howe is blocked by Gen. Washington, that How had made two or three sallies from Philadelphia, but was driven back with loss, that he was attempting, when the last came, to ship all his troops, but it was supposed the whole army wou'd be taken prisoners — a great affair if it can be effected, as it wou'd intirely finish the land war. To morrow we expect to commemorate the Aniversary of our Independence being July 4, on the plain field, the other side the River, oposite the *force*.

Saturday, July 4, 1778, being the Aniversary of our Independence we all by appointment were to dine on the field under a tent which was pitched for that purpose. We invited a number of French gentlemen of the town. I went over between two and three. Mr. P. Amiel and Mr. Grubb were undertakers. We had as genteel a dinner as cou'd be dress'd and our company was equal. We mustered upwards of sixty about twenty-five of which were Americans, the remainder gentlemen belonging to Nants. At one end of the tent flying was American colours at the other end French. The cannon which we had on the occasion resounded at every toast,

and a most excellent band of music join'd their peal on the day. In the middle of the table was stuck the colours of the united States, and Capt. Abraham Whipple of the Frigate *Providence* headed the table. He generously sign'd two hundred livres, so also did Mr. Sweighauser,[1] our Continental Agent here, Mr. Peret gave fifty bottles of Champaign and fifty bottles of Burgundy. After dinner thirteen toasts were drank. The United Americans, the Congress and the King of France began, the remainder follow in course. Here we tarried till eight o'clock, many were very drunk. I think I never see Champaign fly so before, almost as much lost as drank. Many who tarried after me brought the music over to Madam McCarteys, and keep it up till three o'clock Sunday morning.

Sunday, July 5. Dined this day with Capt. Whipple at M'd McCarteys. Capt. Whipple intends leaving France by the 20th inst. I am concluded to go with him.

Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, July 9. This week I am employ'd in buying necessaries for my voyage, cloathing for myself etc. Johonnot received a letter from Joy from Lisle in which he mentions my chest of cloaths being recover'd and will be sent by first oppertunity, very agreeable news to me. The more I see of France the less I think of there being a large trade between them and us, they are no way calculated, manners and customs so different, not able, or not willing to give a credit to us, and the prices of their goods being so much more than what we used to give that it cannot be, we must return mostly into our old channel of trade as soon as peace with G. B. commences which will not be many years first; the last news from America were that Clinton was withdrawing his troops from Philadelphia as fast as possible, supposed to be going to the West Indies, many reports about Count Destan, but without foundation. Preparation for warr goes on very fast here, commissions are giving for privateers, merchant ships are taking up for transports, all kinds of people are taking for Army and Navy, and yet not the least noise, discontent or uneasiness is heard, but all pleased, calm, and quiet. Such is the effect of this Government, if the King wants men, as he has every subject's name register'd, it is only sending, and they dare as well die as not go. The French at present are very happy, that tho' they have a weak Prince, which they certainly have; yet he has had so much sense as to chuse the best Minister at the head of affairs, that France ever had, *Sartin*.[2] Heard of a resolve past in

[1] John Daniel Schweighauser, commercial agent of the United States at Nantes.

[2] Antoine Raymond Jean Gualbert Gabriel de Sartine (1729–1801).

Congress in April last [1] giving leave for all persons who left Boston with G. Howe to return home, provided they first deliver themselves up to an Officier either civil or military and sign his allegiance to this before the June 9 [10]th following.

Friday, July 10. I this day was at a calico printers in, bot. a piece of calico, a large store keep by Germans, who I find are the honestest people to deal with here, and there are many settled here; called at various shops to purchase, tea with Mr. Briskoe;

Saturday, July 11, after dinner Mr. Kelly and a friend of his, a French Abbée waited on us to the Carthusian Monastery, the strickest order in all France. They are [*blank*] in number. The Monk we went to see was very jovial, sociable and good natur'd, as soon as we enter'd he fell down to prayer. We all kneeled, he like the Quakers pray'd to himself for we heard not a word of what he said, it lasted about a minute. The following account we had from him, that the Carthusian is the strickest order, when they once enter the Monastry they never go outside of the gate again, a woman is not allowed to enter their walls nor their church, so that they never see a woman, they never eat meat, each one has two or three rooms, very neat and clean, the one contains the tools of what they were brought up to, at which they work at leisure hours for amusement only, the second room where they lie, and see their friends, their bed being in a press to take up and put down at pleasure, the third room is their study in which they spend much of their time in reading and praying. Each one has likewise a garden (he keeping it in order himself,) which produces a plenty of fruits. They wear woollen shirts and in summer it must be very warm. The Monk yesterday complain'd of the heat much, they speak to one another only one day in the week, dine by themselves, which is dresst and brought to a little hole from which they take it. They are allowed no drink between meals, they wear no stockings, only shoes, their heads are shaved, he said he had been there sixteen years, and he had not seen a penny of money and if any was found on him, it wou'd be a great crime. This one was about forty years old. When he found we were Americans, he was much pleased to hear us talk, he asked our conductor what religion we were of. He was very chearful, and much pleased with our visit, poor creature to be so confin'd for life. I do not wonder he is glad to see a rational being, it is a refreshment to his spirits; Gracious Being it is possible thou intended human creatures shou'd so retire from the world, and not receive and enjoy the good things of this life which thy good Providence has so bountifully bestowed on us, what are all

[1] April 23, 1778. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), x. 381.

those blessings sent for, but that we shou'd partake and with grateful hearts, acknowledge the kindness of the Donor, for what are we formed, but for society, and the mutual friendship of one another, for what purpose was woman form'd, was it not for man? certainly and can it be believed that the supreme Being who made this world and governs it in a most miraculous manner, that he who sent all the good things in this life for the use of his human creatures in this lower world, that he takes a peculiar pleasure and delight in a person secluded himself for ever from the world and that the walls of a convent about fifty feet square, shou'd be his boundary, beyond which, he shou'd not pass, impossible. This religious house is rich it has five or six thousand pounds sterling per ann. belonging to it. From this place I went to the Bois delonia, Wrote this day to friend Joy at Lisle.

Sunday. I think the weather here very near as warm as with us. The wind for this week past has been East, which has made it much more pleasant, otherwise it wou'd have been extreemly hot. Did not leave my chamber till dinner time, tea with Mr. Archer, and number [of] Americans, after tea walked towards the shipping, see two Americans, just arrived from Plymouth, from which place they got away on Wednedsay last. Supped with Capt. Whipple.

Monday, July 13, as it brought a new day, it of course brings some variety with it. I wrote to Friend Dowling, sent it by a private oppertunity. likewise to Mr. Smith. About at several shops, cannot but observe how much we poor Americans have suffer'd in the French merchandize, they having charged double the common price and made fortunes on our loss. This week produces nothing remarkable. War is the general topic of conversation, we have news one day which is contradicted the next. It is certain that the French Navy was never in so respectable a situation as at present, the Brest Fleet according to the best accounts consists of thirty-two Ships of the Line, and ten Frigates very full mann'd, but for all, tho' great part of the English Fleet is in America, yet they dread their floating Castles, and the drubbing they had last Warr they have not yet got over. The Spanish are in much the same situation, their Fleet is in a very respectable situation, and their Galleons are now arriv'd and very probable they will take an active part cannot say. They say war is declared between the Empire and Prussia, and between Russia and the Porte, in short all Europe is likely to be involved in a war. After being in France fifteen weeks have a probability of leaving it, not before I am tired. It is impossible for a person who has not been in this country to

have an idea how different they are from us in every thing, manners, customs, behaviour, constitution, government, in short every circumstance forbids that connection, that cou'd happen and I hope will be brought to pass between G. B. and America. A number of young fellows of us agreed to be in a mess together, for which purpose we put in two guineas each for necessaries above the ship's allowance.

Wednesday, July 23, after preparing every thing for my voyage, I left Nants in the ship's barge with Capt. Jones of the marines. I went ashore at [Le] Pellerin fifteen miles from Nants, lodged that night at Mr. Car Michael's there. He has two daughters very agreeable. Thursday hired horse and rode to Painbeuf, fifteen miles, the wind being contrary prevented our sailing, tarried in this disagreeable place till Monday when the Captain and the remainder of our mess coming down I went on board the *Providence* and that night, July 27, 1778, for the first time lay there. The different scenes, from the land amidst two hundred and fifty people, the noise they are continually making, and every circumstance so opposite from the silent repose of the land, that it is some time before one is sued to the manner of living. Our mess consisting of nine at present, Capt. Procter, Calef, Holmes and Amiel, Johonnot, Capt. Townsend, a French gentleman and a German, and myself. The next day I dined with the Capt. as two or three of our mess are to dine with him every day. We are on the half deck, the bulk head divides us from the Capt. He endeavours to make every thing agreeable to us affording us all the assistance in his power. The first Lieut. is Mr. Pitcher, a man of no show and great enemy to dress, but thoroughly acquainted with his duty and in that capacity a good officer, the second Lieut. Mr. Dival a very obliging person and one who knows his duty, tho' not of very great experience, Mr. Fletcher the third Lieut. a young man very stiddy and attentive, Capt. Jones of the Marines. The *Providence* carries thirty guns, six eighteen pounders, eighteen twelve pounders, four six pounders on quarter deck and two on forecastle. While we lay at Painbeuf we had some of our acquaintance almost every day to see, and never dine without company, in this disagreeable place we lay at anchor waiting for a wind till Wednesday morning, August 5, we had a light breese. We weighed about twelve o'clock at noon, but the wind coming about were obliged to moor again, very much mortified. I received a letter while we lay at anchor at Painbeuf from London from Friend Blanchard dated July 17, mentioning there was no probability of my chest coming to Nants. I wrote him an answer. At eleven o'clock Wednesday night we left Pain-

beuf but the wind being so light it was with great difficulty we reached one league. We were happy to pass a bad bar with safety. Capt. Macgan attempting to do the same run a ground. Perhaps there is not in Europe a more dangerous river for navigation than the Loire, for a ship which draws thirteen feet of water is obliged to wait for spring tides to pass the barr, and a vessell drawing more than nine feet when loaded cannot go up to Nants (about ten leagues from the mouth of the River) but is obliged to lighten herself at Painbeuf. We are now at anchor about a league from the *Boston* Frigate and by to morrow tide hope to proceed to Brest. Numbers of vessells takes the oppertunity of our Frigate for a convoy, both Americans and French, to Brest and to America. I hope I have bid adieu to France never to return to it, as I can never love the Constitution, the manners and customs of this country. Nants I think I have said sufficient about, that it is a sea port city on the River Loire, ten leagues from the mouth of the River, very bad navigation there being but nine feet of water at high tide, it has a large trade with Guinea and the West Indies in time of peace the large ships ride at Painbeuf about ten leagues from Nantes. The inhabitants are about one hundred thousand, they say one hundred and forty thousand. [An] American Agent is at Nants, a German by name Schweighauser, but our trade at present here is very small, and unless the French alter their behaviour very much it can never increase much.

On Thursday morning by light we reach'd the *Boston*, and on Saturday morning we all weigh'd anchor for Brest, twelve sail in number, the wind being fair for going, but unfavorable for Brest. The next day it became calm, what little wind there was, unfair for Brest.

Sunday evening, August 9, five of our company left us, and Monday morning the whole left us all bound for America. We expected before this to meet with some privateers from Jersey or Guernsey but are disappointed. We have now a fair wind for [*blank.*]

On Tuesday we espied two sail at a great distance, we gave what chase was in our power, but there being so small wind, the small vessells had the advantage. We keep within sight of them for three days, at last they finding out what we were, (for I imagine they were privateers) pushed off as fast as possible.

On Saturday morning, August 15, four o'clock, after a passage of seven days from Nants, sixty leagues, we came to anchor in the Harbour of Brest. We saluted the Admiral with thirteen guns he returned it with seven, in a short time after came a number of

officers from several of the ships in the harbour. After breakfast our Commodore waited on the Admiral to pay him the usual compliments, he was received with great complaisance and offers of any thing he should want while at Brest, the old gentleman was much pleased with the behaviour of the Admiral. Capt. Simpson [1] of the *Ranger* came on board us, as he went on board the Admiral in the Commodore's barge, he offer'd us Gentlemen Volunteers his barge to go on shore. We accepted of it. Capt. Jones, Mr. Richards, Amiel, Townsend, Johonnot and myself went in her first on board the *Ranger* of which Capt. Simpson commanded, a ship of eighteen guns six pounders. Mr. Morris, Capt. of the Marines, was there, a genteel young man whom I was acquainted with at Nants, shortly after came the three Commanders from waiting on the French Admiral. We took Mr. Morris with us on shore, they engaged our returning to dinner we had so little time on shore that agreed to go again after dinner. We had a full table at dinner the three Commanders were among the number. In the afternoon we visited Brest, landing on the side of the town which contains the store houses for the several Ships of War. From thence walked round, after crossing the River, to the Docks, and through the town, round the ramparts etc. returned to the ship about half past eight in the evening. The town of Brest is a Garrison Place and separate from the Army and Navy is nothing for that is the only support. You enter the Harbour between two amazing strong forts the passage is about a [*blank*] in breadth and opens after you enter to a most grand harbour, surrounded by land save that passage, there being forts all round for the defence of the town. The town is hid by the wall that surrounds it. First the Fleet makes a good appearance upwards of thirty sail of the line besides Frigates. The side of the town we first landed on were stores of all kinds of necessaries for the Fleet, each ship having a particular warehouse with the name of the ship on the front. Here we saw numbers of those miserable beings called Galley Slaves, chained two and two together at [work?]. Wretched creatures, the King has five thousand seven hundred of these shocking objects at this place. As we walked we looked into a rope walk belonging to the King twelve hundred feet in length, and another there is here one thousand feet in length. The amazing quantity of cannon, anchors, some weighing upwards of ten thousand weight, the regularity and order of every part is surprising. We then passed to view the Docks worthy the notice of every stranger. Here the largest ships are brought, clean'd, etc. and out again in two tides. Here we went on board

[1] Thomas Simpson.

the *Neptune* of eighty four guns abuilding to be lanched in a few days, which appear'd a little world. We then went on board a two decker which was repairing the damage it had received in the late battle; the *Ville de Paris* a three decker was likewise repairing, being the most damaged of any vessell, she had eighteen shot thro' her cabin, and lost a number of men. It appears amazing that such large bulky bodies moves with the celerity that they do. We walked on the ramparts which are pleasing, and thro' the principal part of the town, which is altogether calculated for the Army and Navy. This is the first harbour for ships in the Kingdom. About half past eight return'd to the ship much pleased with my day's work.

Sunday, August 16. Morning the Admiral did our Commodore the honor of waiting on him to view the ship, the form and built of which he was much pleased with, a number of his officers accompanied him. We saluted him on his departure with thirteen, his ship called the *Grand Bretagne* return'd the same number of guns. The Admiral looks to be upwards of seventy years old, a pleasing countenance, and very open and free in conversation. His ship carries one hundred and ten guns.

Monday morning the largest part of the French Fleet went out twenty-three Line of Battle Ships, five Frigates, and three small craft — in all thirty — a fine sight to view the floating Castles or little worlds carried along by a genteel gale, and guided by as much each as a pilot boat. There is six or seven Ships of the Line now remaining in Harbour, which will be fitted ready to follow the rest in a few days. When they go, Brest will be left by all the Navy. The sailors and officers were in high courage, promising themselves success in their expedition.

Tuesday afternoon on shore at Brest with our Lieutenants. The French brought in a small pilot boat belonging to the East India Company of England looking out for the homeward bound ships to conduct them into port. We again viewed the store houses, docks and every thing we found worthy of notice. We see the *Lively*, an English Frigate taken by the French, the vessell which took the *Lexington* Privateer and many other prizes of no note.

Wednesday sail six Ships of the [Line] two Frigates and a sno, in all twenty-nine Ships of Line, seven Frigates and smaller [craft.]

Friday afternoon, August 21, 1778. We that is to say the *Providence* Frigate thirty guns, viz. six eighteen pounders, eighteen twelve pounders, and six six pounders, Abraham Whipple Esq'r Commander, the *Boston* Frigate of thirty guns, twelve nine and six

pounders, [*blank*] Tucker [1] Commander, and the *Ranger* of eighteen nine pounders, [*blank*] Simpson Commander, left the Harbour of Brest with the wind at north and by east. Spirits of the crew high by the hopes of their successes in taking of prizes and the prospect of once more seeing their native country. I must own for my part the idea of again viewing America, the place that gave birth to me and most of my family, the thoughts of seeing my friends, and again being restored to Boston, the pleasing and happy meeting I hope shortly to experience in that meeting, eradicates in a great measure those gloomy thoughts, those disagreeable feelings and that anxiety of mind, which I have for a long time experienced. I think I have described Brest enough for this place. The town itself is nothing without the Army and Navy, of these there are such numbers as makes it always alive. The Troops of France are without doubt most excellent. There are a great many here at present, the navy have most left it; there now remains five two deckers, one three decker (*Ville de Paris*), and few Frigates. These intend joining the grand Fleet as soon as they are refitted.

Saturday morning, August 22, we have passed a Dutch man, and now in full chase of a vessell just espied. It proves to be a Spanard from Nants to Cadiz. We chased several vessells either Dutch or Danes.

Monday, August 24, we took a Brig't from London bound to Pensacola loaded with provisions, belonging to the English Government, for the Troops there, Robert Ward Master. Her cargo consisted of 600 Bbs. Flour, 200 Bags Bread, 139 Tierces Beef, 300 Bbs. Pork, Peas and sundry other articles. I by Capt. Whipple's desire assisted in examining the letters and papers, was entertained in reading of them, they shew the disagreeable situation the merchants in London are in, many have lately failed, and more they expect will every day. The complaints of the times were great, and the duns many. Capt. Ward left Spithead, Tuesday the 18th, bro't papers of the 11th printed in London. The Fleet under Admiral Keppell he says was out consisting of thirty-five Ships of the Line and a few Frigates to seek the French Fleet under Duke Orviliers. The wind continues fair. We in the course of the week chased many others, all of which turn'd out Dutch or Danes. In the short the ships coming and going in fleets so much is the reason I imagine we have not come across of any more English vessells.

Monday, August 31, at midnight all hands were called to quarters, a vessell being discovered alongside of us, it being very foggy. She was sailing the oposite course from us. Before the Capt. came on

[1] Samuel Tucker (1747–1833).

deck, and we cou'd make sail the Brig't (which it prov'd to be) by favor of the fogg had made out of sight, by the time we were under full sail. Presently there arose a very heavy squall with abundance of rain that we had enough to do to shorten sail; at break of day we discover'd the Brig't we chased at midnight. We imediately made sail again. She sail'd excessively well. We made but little on her till twelve when we gain'd considerable, and cou'd discover her hull from our deck. Some time before we espied a large ship over our weather bowe, which the *Ranger* had given chase to. Our Capt. thought fit to leave chasing the Brigantine which we shou'd have come up with by four o'clock P. A. supposing it to be an American Privateer, and we also gave chase to the ship, which we did not gain on. The *Ranger* being much ahead, she rais'd her fast, and before night wou'd have come up with her, if she had not meet the misfortune of carrying her foretop mast and her main top gallant mast which prevented our pursuing her, so that we lost both. As the Capt. has the command he ought to know best, therefore I shall leave this affair. By the next day the *Ranger* got up new top masts and we with a fine wind go under a gentle sail. Very disagreeable rainy weather off the Western Islands.

Thursday, September 3, we are now steering west north west before the wind.

September 5 we gave chase to a Brigantine, a Frenchman from St. Peter's N Foundland to Havre de Grace. The scenes of a Man of War are often curious, and frequently produce laughter, especially on board the *Providence* at present, as we have such a mixture of languages who do not understand one another. We have seventy or eighty Frenchmen, most of them never at sea before, and know not a rope in the ship, when they first came out were very sick, but now are recover'd. Add the great inveteracy and hatred there is between our sailors and the French, that they must have a very poor time of it.

Sunday, Sept. 6. The view and prospect of the sea shews the care of Providence over all his creatures in a wonderful manner. The bottomless ocean, the extensiveness of the same, and the extraordinary manner that ships live, from year's end to year's end without seeing land, together with the inumerable number of creatures in the sea, all declare the existence of a supreme Cause.

On Wednesday, Sept. 9, took a Brigantine from Granada bound to Glasgow with about one hundred forty puncheons of rum and a little cotton. She was one of a fleet of fifty sail from which she parted four weeks past, was then out two weeks under convoy of the [*blank*] Ship of twenty guns and *Beaver* Sloop of fourteen guns.

Sunday, Sept. 13. Yesterday we discovered a large ship, suppose of the same fleet. By reason of its coming calm, we could not reach her.

Sunday, Sept. 27. On Thursday 17 we took a Snow from Newfoundland bound to Port O: Port 2200 quintal of fish. We now are on the Banks, have tried for fish two or three days, but have been unsuccessful. What our course will be next cannot say. I long to be out of this foggy disagreeable weather, my fingers now are so cold I can hardly write. Long to go home, as for what reason, God knows, the whole ship's crew endeavour to cross us in every thing, and are as malicious as possible — in short I never was in so disagreeable a situation in my life. As I am now mentioning the ship, I think I will put the allowance which is order'd by Congress for the Navy, and which if fulfilled is sufficient and plenty, viz't:

Sunday one pound of bread and one pound of beef.
Monday one pound of bread 1 li. pork, half pint pease.
Tuesday 1 li. bread and 1 li. beef.
Wednesday 1 li. bread, 2 oz. butter, 4 oz. cheese, half pint rice.
Thursday 1 li. bread, 1 li. pork, half pint pease.
Friday 1 li. bread, 1 li. beef.
Saturday 1 li. bread, 1 li. pork, half pint pease, 4 oz. cheese. Half pint rum per man per day, discretionary allowance, on extraordinary occasion a pint of rum; half pint vinegar for six men per week.[1]

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. DOWSE and THAYER.

[1] The Diary thus ends abruptly.

JANUARY MEETING, 1921.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 13th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. In the absence of the President and both Vice-Presidents, Mr. ARTHUR LORD was chosen to preside.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported among the additions the following items:

From Mr. Roger S. Warner, of Boston, nine log-books kept by Joseph Pulsifer, and Robert S. Pulsifer, on the *Restitution*, *Ellen Douglas*, *Augusta*, *Pacific*, *Alexander*, *Leonidas*, and *Zumaca*, sailing between Boston and Salem, Canton and Calcutta, and ports in South America, 1807 to 1829; also records of the Mast Makers' Society in Boston, 1825–1829.

From Miss Emma L. Coleman, several broadsides, photographs, engravings, bills and printed material, relating to Lincoln and the Civil War; and two election tickets of 1864.

From the estate of Henry G. Denny, long time a Resident Member of the Society, a collection of manuscripts and printed papers, 1641–1904, relating mostly to Dorchester, the material remaining in his hands as the surviving member of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society which was organized on January 27, 1843, and ceased to exist on the death of Mr. Denny on September 19, 1907. Among these papers are the record books of the Society; the Almshouse receipt book, 1756–61, of Samuel Procter; notes of sermons, 1703–5; receipt book of the Colony taxes, 1773–75; list of the New Boston Company of Militia in Ward 7, Boston, 1772–74, and orderly book of the 6th regiment, 1st Brigade of Militia, with mention of the Independent Fusiliers of Boston, 1790–93; several commissions bearing the signatures of William Phips, 1692; William Stoughton, 1696; Bellomont, 1699; four of Joseph Dudley, 1702–11; William Shirley, 1741; Charles Paxton, 1762; Francis Bernard, 1769; and John Hancock, 1790; and a certificate of membership to Maj. Francis Holden as honorary member of the "Soul of Soldiery," instituted on March 5, 1805, engraved by Annin and Smith after a drawing by Sharp; also a fragment of a broadside on the Tragedy at Miami Village, November 4, 1791.

From Mr. Charles E. Goodspeed, a part, in parchment, of the statement and finding of the Superior Court of Pleas, Boston, January, 1687/8, for the defendant in the case of Edward Randolph vs. Increase Mather, falsely charged with writing the letter of December 3, 1683, to Rev. Thomas Gouge, of Amsterdam, reflecting on Randolph and the English Government.[1]

From Mr. Ellerton James, a fac-simile of Thomas Jefferson's suggestions in 1800 on a bill to settle the disputed Presidential election.

From Walter Eliot Thwing, of Roxbury, the letter-books of his father, Supply Clap Thwing, April 3, 1846, to June 4, 1877; and Journal, April 1, 1844, to June 4, 1877.

From Miss Edith and Mr. Henry Hersey Andrew, the private correspondence of their father Gov. John A. Andrew, January 4, 1861, to October 28, 1867, in thirty-nine volumes; letter-press copies from March 23, 1861, to October 28, 1867, in seven volumes; Index to letters sent, April 15, 1861, to January 6, 1866; Civil and Military appointments, 1861–62, in six volumes; list of names for mailing documents; three volumes of newspaper cuttings, 1860–1867, and one volume of cuttings relating to his son John Forrester Andrew, 1867–1888.

From the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, a photostat copy of its records from 1792 to 1920.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, several volumes, some in fine Florentine bindings, and a number of English engravings, to be added to the Kingsmill Marrs Collection.

By purchase, a bond, June, 1605, of Vincent Waterhous of Scrooby, England, having the signatures of Richard Clarke and Richard Vincent among the witnesses.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From the estate of Henry G. Denny, a number of photographs of Boston and Cambridge men, and of views in Dorchester, England; a small spy-glass belonging to James Blake (1668–1750), surveyor, of Dorchester; United States stamped paper, issued 1801, of four, ten, twenty, and twenty-five cents; pieces of money used during the American Revolution; electrotype seal of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society; and an "East View of State Street, Boston," engraved by J. J. Heath, Birmingham.

From Mr. Morse, a large framed daguerreotype of Nathaniel P. Banks, and four members of the "Free-Soil Party," one of whom

[1] 4 *Collections*, VIII. 104; 7 *Collections*, VII. 85 n; *Edward Randolph* (Prince Society), II. 51.

has been identified as Henry Wilson, taken by Josiah J. Hawes, of Boston in 1850.

From C. P. Greenough, a number of American and English engravings.

From the Selectmen of Andover, the service medal of the town.

From Charles Torrey, a photograph of a painting of Leith Harbor, Scotland, by Robert Salmon, made in Boston, after his first painting at Leith, and owned by Mr. F. W. Snow, of Chelsea.

From William Farley Brewster, of Chicago, a photograph of a bronze tablet, showing his descent from Elder Brewster, marking grave of William Brewster (1795–1879), set on December 21, 1920.

From Henry R. Dalton, a photograph of the original painting by Salmon of Boston Harbor in 1832 from Central Wharf to Long Wharf.

From Mr. Norcross, a photograph from a print on a certificate of stock of the Barristers Hall Real Estate Association showing Court Square at the corner of Williams Court about 1850; two photographs from water-color views of the front and rear of the Kirk Boott house on Bowdoin Square corner of Bulfinch Street, built in 1812 and demolished in 1847; a "Lucky Penny," in copper, a souvenir of Washington; and a medal showing the government building at the World's Fair, Chicago, 1893.

From the estate of Mrs. Henry S. Grew, through the Bostonian Society, a silver medal, struck on the death of George III, and a broadside inscription and verses accompanying it.

On deposit, by the heirs of the late Morton Dexter, a beam taken from the Manor House in Scrooby, England, occupied by William Brewster and his son, the latter being Elder Brewster of the Pilgrim migration. The beam is described in Dr. Dexter's *England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 248.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Henry Bradford Washburn, of Cambridge, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

Allan Forbes, of Westwood, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The death of Mr. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge was announced by Mr. Lord, who called upon Mr. Morse for the tribute.

Thomas Jefferson Coolidge was the son of Joseph Coolidge, a merchant of Boston, seventh in descent from John Coolidge, who had settled in Watertown in 1630, and of Eleonora Wayles Coolidge, a daughter of Thomas Mann Randolph and his wife

Martha, who was the eldest daughter of President Jefferson. Thus, upon the 26th day of August, 1831, the infant citizen came into being with an excellent heredity, and under auspices which could hardly have been better.

His travels, which in later life were extensive on both sides of the Atlantic, began early. In 1837 he had already made his first passage and became an inmate at a boarding school near London; whence he was shortly afterwards brought home by sixty days of stormy voyaging in a packet-ship. In 1839 he re-crossed and was again placed at a boarding school, this time at Geneva, where he stayed five years. Thence he went to a gymnasium in Dresden. In 1847, after a stay of ten years abroad, he came home by a voyage of "only" twenty-four days. Forthwith after his return he entered the Sophomore Class at Harvard College, "without difficulty," as he records — which was creditable in view of the fact that the foreign curriculum had not been arranged with any view to Harvard examination papers. He describes himself thus: "I was small, very shy, spoke English with difficulty, and was totally unfit to cope with Americans and American society. My views of my countrymen had been formed in Europe. I considered them barbarous. I believed myself to belong to a superior class, and that the principle that the ignorant and poor should have the same right to make laws and govern as the educated and refined was an absurdity. It took me many years to outgrow my priggism." In college, he says that he was quick at his lessons, but "lazy." He, however, graduated seventeenth in a class of sixty-seven students. Thus he spoke of his early days, but it may be suspected that the fine courtesy of his manners, which were his charm through life, was at least in part attributable to these early European influences; for such accomplishment would hardly have been acquired among the primitive and somewhat uncouth youths of his native city.

After graduation, being, as he says, "ambitious" — we may remember that Alexander Hamilton made precisely the like confession — he "decided to devote himself to the acquisition of wealth;" for his observant eye seemed to tell him that money was becoming "the only real avenue to power and success, both socially and in the regard of one's fellow men."

(He was at the age when clever lads are apt to go through a phase of cynicism.) He began his business career in foreign commerce, and his capacity for mercantile affairs was soon apparent. Thus he weathered the great panic of 1857, though instructed by so brief an experience; and a little later, in 1861, when the outbreak of civil dissension unsettled all business affairs down-town, he wisely foresaw the inevitable effect of the issue of irredeemable paper money, bought, as he says, "freely . . . anything which came under his hand," and later was "wise enough to stop when the currency began to improve"; whereby he saved large profits, which made him feel, as he moderately puts it, "comfortably off." Already, prior to these profitable transactions, he had been making a change in his chief occupation by wisely drawing out of foreign commerce and embarking in quite different pursuits. In 1852 he married the daughter of Mr. William Appleton, and by this alliance there was opened to him an introduction to the great cotton-spinning industry of New England. The Boott Cotton Mills happened soon afterward to fall into a very sorry condition, and in 1858 his father-in-law pressed him to accept the presidency and to endeavor to revivify the dilapidated corporation. He had the courage to agree to this and the energy and ability to succeed in the task, with the encouraging result that at the end of about two years he had reconstructed the mill and its business. It was a tall feather in the cap of a young man who had had no previous training in this department.

After the close of the Civil War he took advantage of his financial gains to go abroad with his family, and passed three years very pleasantly in foreign parts. Immediately upon his return he again resumed work, accepting the treasurership of the Lawrence Manufacturing Company. The time had already come when the question was no longer what position he could get, but what position he would take. By his able management of this corporation he further enhanced his already high reputation, so that in 1876 he had the honor of being made treasurer of the famous Amoskeag Mills, which already was, as he says, "the largest and finest cotton-spinning establishment in the United States." His brilliant conduct through long years of this noble company is familiar to us all. It is fair to say that while New England has had many dis-

tinguished names in her great domain of dry-goods manufacturing, and while possibly a very few among them may be rivals of Mr. Coolidge, surely no one of them can be placed above him.

While mill management was Mr. Coolidge's "specialty" — as the modern phrase has it — he was actively concerned also in other lines of business. The generation of his middle age expended no small part of its abounding energy in developing the West, piercing it with a network of great railways, founding settlements, opening boundless plains to the farming immigrants. Mr. Coolidge, of course, had his share of this fascinating activity. For many years as a member of the Board of Directors of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Rail Road he played an influential part in the management of this most prosperous of the New England group of railways. For a while also he was president of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe road; but finding the task irksome, and moreover an obstacle in the way of the free conduct of his private business enterprises, he resigned after eighteen months of service. When the discreditable operations of Mr. Villard, mismanaging the railroads in the Northwestern section of the country, brought extensive failure and panic among those enterprises, Mr. Coolidge was called in to aid in the salvage, and he was able to rescue the Oregon Railway & Navigation Company from the wreckage. In his home neighborhood, likewise, he was prominently interested in the New England railways, and as president of the Boston & Lowell road he made the lease to the Boston & Maine road, which for a long period of years was a most satisfactory arrangement.

In the science of finance also, both theoretical and applied, he was notably well informed. The government availed itself of his services on sundry occasions, most conspicuously by placing him upon the Pan-American Commission. In this task his labors were long-continued and arduous as well as eminently useful. In his own city he was for a great many years a very active member of the Directorate of the Merchants Bank, taking a very active part in its business.

Neither should it be forgotten that during the same period he found time to render public service. In collaboration with Charles Dalton and William Gray, the younger, he laid out

the handsome and extensive park system on the Brookline side of Boston. The character of the territory to be used was peculiar and called for handling along quite original lines. The unique and beautiful result of the scheme of driveways with their attractively developed margins of woods and water we now take for granted, but in fact it was a conception as novel and ingenious as it was successful.

In politics Mr. Coolidge had no ambition whatsoever for office or preferment of any sort. But he was public-spirited, often deeply interested in political campaigns and frequently an efficient laborer therein; and upon questions of legislation falling within the range of his interests and knowledge he exercised very considerable influence. Naturally this was especially the case in regard to the tariff, and also to some extent in the days of the silver menace. In his earlier years, just before the outbreak of the Civil War, his views were much in consonance with those held by Robert C. Winthrop and other Boston men of moderate conservatism. With half of the blood in his veins flowing from Virginian sources he naturally thought the diatribes of Wendell Phillips "inflammatory" and of "pestilential influence"; yet he was desirous to see Buchanan "chastise them [the South Carolinians] instantly and severely." He was not anti-slavery, but he was strenuously pro-Union, a war-Democrat, with emphasis on the war. Later, when questions of economics became a vital line of cleavage, he took his permanent position with the Republicans. With his business interests bound up with the industries of the populous, bustling, thriving, cities and towns of New England, he could hold no other views, and he rightly conceived himself to be furthering the welfare of the community in which he lived. He played a conspicuous part in the long contest for protective duties, and thereby his ability and efficiency became more widely known in political circles. It was commonly supposed that it was in recognition of the great services rendered by him in the hard and successful struggle of 1888 that he received the appointment of Minister to France. The explanation may or may not be correct, but we may easily accept it, since it is hardly to be imagined that his eminent fitness for the post could have been the cause, it being too well known that the unhappy custom of our Government is defiantly to ig-

nore the trifling consideration of training and probable fitness in the distribution of diplomatic positions. At any rate, whatever may have been the motive influencing the selection, it was most fortunate. Experience in diplomacy, it is true, he had not, but other essential qualifications were his in abundance — tact and courtesy, clear, practical intelligence in affairs, a cool head and sound judgment, and an honorable integrity which very usefully won the full confidence of the French Foreign Office; further, he was even able to speak almost like a native the language of the country to which he was accredited. The Frenchmen, pleased with his coming, received with cordiality a well-bred gentleman and throughout his stay the officials with whom he had to deal manifested always a desire to meet his views and grant his requests. Some delicate points and two or three matters of considerable importance arose during his stay and were handled by him with skill, excellent sense and satisfactory result. It was unfortunate that his incumbency was cut short by the triumph of the Democrats in the Presidential election. Only a few days after inauguration on March 4, Mr. Cleveland hastened to nominate Mr. Eustis to the post, an act hardly blameworthy according to our national customs, which certainly gave no right to so prominent a protectionist as Mr. Coolidge to expect any other fate than to be promptly and conspicuously decapitated. It was the rule of the political game. Mr. Coolidge, according to etiquette, sent in his resignation, and on April 3 received from the Secretary of State a letter accepting it. The new appointee soon crossed the water and was met by the outgoing minister with more than merely conventional kindness. Mr. Coolidge invited Mr. Eustis to breakfast, and the two discussed sundry questions of economic policies, with entire disagreement, of course, but also, of course, with entire courtesy. Mr. Coolidge then, on May 4, presented to Mr. Carnot his letters of recall, and promptly sailed for home, having, as he said, passed the happiest year of his life.

With advancing years Mr. Coolidge gradually withdrew from business, not so much because interest waned as because increasing deafness finally reached such a point as practically to isolate him. The preceding brief sketch furnishes hardly a memorandum of his numerous activities. Besides the official

positions which have been mentioned he held also many others somewhat less exacting and conspicuous. Further, being of a venturesome disposition and inclined to make the most of his ability in affairs, he was frequently engaged in private enterprises, generally semi-speculative, and for the most part successful, whereby he accumulated a handsome fortune. This he expended with free-handed but intelligent liberality. He gave to Harvard College the Jefferson Physical Laboratory; and to the town of Manchester the picturesque, vine-clad granite library, the work of McKim, which stands so decoratively upon the lawn on the southerly side of the beautiful North Shore road.[1] Habitually, in all his ways, in his wonted cordial fashion, he respected and responded to the many obligations which lay upon one holding his social and financial position. His address was marked by an attractive friendliness, and his manner, while simple and unaffected, had a fine air of distinction. I fear that it must be admitted that he was an aristocrat; but this was not really his fault, for it was his nature and he could not help it. Yet a shrewd observer easily saw that the possessor of this courteous and pleasing exterior had also, for the appropriate occasion, a very strong and masterful will and a very resolute and persistent disposition; in fact he was quite able to face men and conquer difficulties, if either obstructed his way. He had good taste in art. He was well read in the best literature. He talked agreeably, and in writing had a direct and pleasantly simple style; and it is gratifying to be able to say of him that both in talking and in writing he had always a great respect for the English language, which he treated as well educated men always should though they sometimes do not, eschewing slang and never falling into the lingo of the newspaper writers. His *Autobiography*, unfortunately only "privately printed," is excellent literature as well as very interesting reading.

The story of his life is a story of practically uninterrupted success, a record not unique, of course, but very unusual. This was chiefly due to the union of keen vision in practical affairs with sound judgment in all affairs. His mistakes were

[1] Mention should be made of his gift to the Society of the private papers of Thomas Jefferson, upwards of 7000 in number, and of the writing table used by Jefferson. The latter gift was in memory of his son, Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, Jr.

few and almost never important. Only once he came near to a serious peril in taking charge of the Atchison Railroad, but he escaped unhurt, and that he did so escape was due to his just appreciation of the incompatibility between the office and his own schemes — perhaps also in part to shrewd business foresight. He certainly had great opportunities, yet not greater than some of his contemporaries who accomplished much less than he did. Opportunities of themselves achieve nothing, any more than a pen and paper write a book, or a big voice makes an orator. Mr. Coolidge clearly understood these opportunities, understood his own qualities of mind and character, understood the situation in which he found himself among his fellow-citizens both up-town and down-town, understood what life in New England had to offer. It was this intuitive and correct perception combined with an active disposition and an enterprising spirit that won for him a career which may fairly be called brilliant. His achievements were all his own. It is true that his own position and his family connections naturally brought him valuable alliances in business; also that he had able coadjutors and subordinates, who, however, were well selected by the exercise of his own insight. But the permanently operating and dominating brain power and will power were his. No man, who begins life early and ends it late, can ride through the long procession of years to enduring triumph upon the shoulders of others. Good fortune saved him from being what we call a self-made man, but he had powers which would have made him one, had he been born in a different stratum.

One important thing remains to be said for his memory. In respect of the moralities of the business world he was always and wholly without reproach; and this means much for those of us who are old enough to remember the wild, reckless, unprincipled scrambling for wealth, which prevailed among those who were conducting business after the Civil War. Large fortunes rapidly acquired were numerous; unspotted reputations were deplorably scarce. Even worthy men, who fully meant to do right, sometimes lost their way in the fogs which obscured ethical perceptions, and were pained to find themselves the objects of criticisms which, to their chagrin, they found it difficult to answer. Amid the rush and the confusion, Mr.

Coolidge never went astray, and the chief reason was that he did not content himself with obeying the rules of the technical code of mere mercantile honesty, but preferred rather to carry down-town with him the honorable spirit of a gentleman for daily use in rooms where it did not habitually intrude. The result was that not so much as even a mark of interrogation was ever set against any act of his. For this reason we have the high pleasure of recording our "Tribute" without finding ourselves obliged tactfully to suppress, or explain away, or apologize for any single incident in his long, crowded and active life.

Dr. WARREN followed with reminiscences of his own connection and acquaintance with Mr. Coolidge.

Mr. MORSE then read the following paper on

LETTERS OF CHARLES DICKENS, 1842.

It was, as you may remember, in 1842 that Charles Dickens made his first visit to this country and made those observations among us which found vivacious expression later in the *American Notes*. During this visit he established a warm friendship with Mr. Jonathan Chapman, who was then Mayor of Boston, and a very estimable gentleman. A kinswoman of Mr. Chapman several years ago brought to me certain letters written by Mr. Dickens to him and which she desired to sell. With them she brought also a presentation copy of the *American Notes*, inscribed by Dickens to Chapman, and being the first copy of the book to arrive in this country. I offered the letters and volume for the J. P. Morgan collection, and received from the lady in charge an offer of $50. I replied that I knew little about market values or prices in the way of autographs, etc., but must admit that the offer fell short of my hopes. I heard nothing further from her, and therefore put the supposed treasures into one of Libbie's auction sales — not without some misgivings as to my judgment, but protecting them at least by a $50 limit. I received $275. So I did not make a mistake in that first venture with the letters; but I confess that I feel a little less secure about the wisdom of this second venture with them. They really are not very noteworthy, and I greatly fear that you may not be much obliged to me for

taking up your time with the reading of them; but it is too late for the backward step, since I am "announced" for this paper.

CARLTON HOUSE, NEW YORK,
Twenty-second February, 1842.

MY DEAR FRIEND: — Here 's my hand — our alliance is complete. Let the sea rise never so high between us, we will rise higher. And when you come to England, we will have such walks and talks together, as shall indemnify us for years of separation.

I am sick to death of the life I have been leading here, worn out in mind and body, and quite weary and distressed. I have declined all future invitations of a public nature; and mean to be resolute from this time forth. I am a splendid illustration of the wisdom of the fable concerning the old man and his ass. Half the population take it ill if I *do* go where I am asked; and the other half take it ill if I *don't*, so I mean in future to consult my own wishes and those of no other person in this hemisphere.

I have never in my life been so shocked and disgusted, or made so sick and sore at heart as I have been by the treatment I have received here (in America I mean) in reference to the International Copyright Question. I — the greatest loser by the existing Law alive — say in perfect good humor and disinterestedness (for God knows that I have little hope of its ever being changed in my time) that I hope the day will come when writers will be justly treated; and straightway, there fall upon me scores of your newspapers, imputing motives to me, the very suggestion of which turns my blood to gall; and attacking me in such terms of vagabond scurrility as they would denounce no murderer with. I vow to Heaven that the scorn and indignation I have felt under this unmanly and ungenerous treatment has been to me an amount of agony such as I never experienced since my birth. But it has had the one good effect of making me iron upon this theme; and iron I will be here and at home by word of mouth and in writing, as long as I can articulate a syllable or hold a pen.

I open my whole heart to you, you see! I write in such a spirit of confidence that I pour out all I have felt upon this subject, though I have said nothing in reference to it, even to my wife. This is a foretaste of what you have brought upon yourself.

I shall be in Washington about the sixth or seventh of March. While I am there I will write to you again; and I shall hope to see your handwriting before I go further South. How I wish that you were not Mayor of Boston and would join us there, and travel with us until the end of May. Always your faithful and affectionate friend,

CHARLES DICKENS.

A very fierce outpouring this, and the phrasing of it a trifle extravagant. It is open to reasonable doubt whether our newspapers stigmatized Mr. Dickens with quite the "vagabond scurrility" appropriate for denouncing a murderer, also whether the special variety of "agony" experienced was not rather an ordinary outburst of rage. Be this as it may, however, it must be admitted that the system of literary piracy then practised to our national shame justified any language which any sufferer thereby might be tempted to use for assuaging his entirely natural sense of wrong. Yet a little anecdote which I happen to be able to tell you, shows that a liberal recognition of substantial honesty was occasionally to be found among our publishers of that day, and perhaps incidentally puts Mr. Dickens in a somewhat amusing light.

Doubtless you all remember that the publishing house of Ticknor & Fields — I don't recall which of its various names was then the legitimate one — by its enterprise managed to secure almost a practical monopoly in this country of the reproduction of Dickens' writings, and of course they made a great deal of money thereby, and of course Mr. Dickens did not. Mr. Houghton (of the firm) told me this story. He was going to make a trip abroad, and the partners of the house, honorable men, felt uneasy at keeping in their own pockets all this money in the making of which Mr. Dickens had played at least a somewhat essential part. So they decided to send to him, by the hand of Mr. Houghton, what they deemed a handsome sum. In London accordingly, Mr. Houghton, armed with the draft, called upon Mr. Dickens, made his polite little speech, and tendered the valuable scrap of paper. To his surprise Mr. Dickens did not accept the tender, but sat looking at Mr. Houghton with an expression of countenance which somewhat puzzled that gentleman. He seemed suspicious, and in fact the author explained that he really did distrust this gift-bearing Greek. He feared that in some mysterious way acceptance of this money, present though it might be called, would somehow ensnare him for the future, put him in some fashion in the power of the givers. Mr. Houghton might have taken offence at the suggestion of such an artifice; but he was a shrewd man of business himself, and he was amused rather than irritated by the shrewdness of the literary gentle-

man. He assured Mr. Dickens, good-naturedly, but most clearly and emphatically, that the payment was no trap, that it entailed absolutely no consequences whatsoever, that it was almost in the nature of a conscience-payment, a transaction wholly complete and finished in itself. But the dubious shade did not pass from the Dickens features. Finally that gentleman said: "I must consult my solicitor. Come back some afternoon, perhaps in two or three days." Accordingly late one afternoon, soon afterward Mr. Houghton called again. Dickens had just come back from some grand mid-day feast of one of the old London guilds — I think Mr. Houghton said it was the Fishmongers, but I am not sure. Mr. Houghton said that it was very evident that the guest had been most hospitably entertained, but his manners had not been improved thereby. He promptly informed Mr. Houghton that he positively declined to accept the draft, that he did not understand our paper money and would have nothing to do with it. In vain did Mr. Houghton endeavor to explain that paper money did not enter into the transaction. Dickens could not understand; but was very curt and decided in alleging that he would not mix himself up in any manner whatsoever in any money dealings with the Americans. So Mr. Houghton took his leave with a clear conscience, a fine snub, a good story to tell, *and the draft.*

CARLTON HOUSE, NEW YORK,
Second June, 1842.

MY DEAR FRIEND: — I am going up the Hudson, for rest; and shall not return here until Monday. Though I have but a minute to spare, I cannot choose but answer your affectionate and warmly welcomed letter.

I did receive that other communication from you of which you speak. I am not ashamed to own it, although I have not written. I answered a great many other letters. They were mere things of course. But I always laid yours aside, and said, "This is quite another matter, I won't write *him* a traveller's, hurried, commonplace note; I will wait." Well you know what waiting comes to under such circumstances as these?

Besides I have always said to my wife, "He 'll come over to New York. I feel confident that he will dine with us on Monday the sixth." When your letter was brought in, I plumed myself very much (before opening it) on being so accurate and I do assure you that for a moment I was quite sorry and disappointed. But

to connect any such feelings with such a letter long was out of the question; so I brightened up again very soon and am now quite radiant.

The ocean can no more divide you and me than darkness can shut out Heaven from a blind man. Were it twenty times as broad as it is, we could send a warm pressure of the hand across it, and I feel, besides, an inexpressible confidence that on one side of it, or the other, we shall meet again.

God bless you, my dear fellow. In the happiness of home, I shall only remember you the more earnestly, heartily and affectionately. I don't know how extravagantly I shall feel or what extravagant things I shall do in the joy of heart with which I shall first stand among my household Deities again. But I will tell you all about it from the midst of them, with God's leave.

I write God bless you, once more, as if that were a satisfaction. Who that has ever reflected on the enormous and vast amount of leave-taking there is in this life, can ever have doubted the existence of another!

I have more than half a mind to write those three words of farewell again — but let this go with it, for you know that it comes from, Yours with all his heart,

CHARLES DICKENS.

I cannot tell you how often I feel grieved at our not having dined together alone on that day, when we went to South Boston, and now it really weighs upon me quite heavily.

BROADSTAIRS, KENT,
Wednesday, August the Third, 1842.

MY DEAR FRIEND: — I date this letter from a little fishing town on the sea coast, whither we have retired (according to our annual custom) for a couple of months. It is a very delicious place; and I wish I could meet you on the beach in one of my long walks hereabouts.

The receipt of your letter gave me inexpressible pleasure. I have read the lines in which you recall our parting — many times — always with new interest, and a still more eager looking forward to that bright day when we shall meet again on this side of the ocean. For I make a point of taking it for granted that that day is to come, and is to come moderately soon. There is nothing like assuming a fact stoutly in such a case as this. The comfort is unspeakable.

When we sat down in our own dear old home again, we did just as you have imagined. I never in my life felt so keenly as on the night of our reaching it. When we had expended ourselves upon

the children, I hurried away to see Macready who had had charge of them in our absence. He was sitting in a dark room by an open window, and had no idea who it was, until I laid my hand upon his sleeve and spoke. Such a scene as we had then! I hustled off to see another most intimate friend. He was dining out. Thereupon I drove to the place where he was dining; and admonishing the servant not to say who it was, told him to carry in the message that a gentleman wanted to speak to him. Guessing directly what it was, he came flying out of the house, got into the carriage, pulled up the window and began to cry. We had gone a couple of miles before he remembered he had left his hat behind him!

It would have been worth going anywhere — far less going where I have gained such friends as you — to feel the affection and attachment I have been made sensible of in ten thousand quiet ways, since I came home. As to the pleasures of home itself; they are unspeakable.

We found our darlings heartily well; and delighted beyond all telling to see us. They were in bed, but we very quickly had them up, you may believe. Charley (our eldest boy) told his mother that he was "too glad," as indeed he was, for he soon afterwards fell into violent convulsions. Dr. Elliotson told us afterwards that the sudden joy had perfectly turned his brain and overthrown his system, and that he had never seen the like in a child. Thank God he soon got well again. I can see him now, from the window at which I am writing digging up the sand on the shore with a very small spade, and compressing it into a perfectly impossible wheelbarrow. The cliffs being high and the sea pretty cold, he looks a mere dot in creation. It is extraordinary how many hopes and affections we may pile up on such a speck; small as it is.

I have decided on writing an account of my journeyings in America and am at this moment busily engaged upon the book. It will be published in a couple of volumes, either in October (I hope) or November next.

I shall be very curious and eager to get your first letter after reading it. As I fear I may miss the next packet even at the best, I must make this a very short epistle. But as I never should feel, though I made it a mile long, that I had said anything I want to say, I have the less scruple in closing it. Mrs. Dickens desires her best regards to yourself and Mrs. Chapman. The children, hearing us speak of you look very hard at this sheet of paper, and repeat the message. So I will add Mary's love and Katey's and Walter's, and take upon myself the responsibility of sending Charley's also.

God bless you, ever believe me, affectionately your friend,

CHARLES DICKENS.

This letter is very picturesque. The warmth and enthusiasm of the home-coming are very pleasant. Yet the scene is a trifle bewildering, too. Had it taken place among effervescent Frenchmen it would be accepted as natural enough. But in fact it is staged in dismal, murky London; and the dramatis personae are stolid, unemotional, unexpressive Englishmen. It is an Englishman who forgets his hat and bursts into tears in the hackney-coach; another Englishman who makes over the poor little child, English too, in his crib, such a hullabaloo that the little victim of noisy affection falls into "violent convulsions," has his puzzled baby brain turned and his infantile English "system overthrown." If curiosity leads us to seek an explanation of these strange phenomena, would it be an altogether inexcusable suggestion to recall that the favorite tipple of that day in England was brandy and soda, and that the great "Boz" was not poisoned by modern prejudices as to such imbibings? Let me confess that when I first read this letter I seemed to be aware of a cheery, once not unfamiliar aroma arising perceptibly and pleasantly from it. Scandalous, say you? Well not much so in those happy old days.

1 Devonshire Terrace,
York Gate, Regent's Park,
Fifteenth October, 1842.

My dear Friend: — I was heartily glad to see your handwriting when the Cunard Boat which brought your letter came in, and I was heartily glad to read it not the less so, because it led me to the belief that your tenderness for me was keener and less bold than any anxiety you would ever entertain for yourself.

In lieu of the American people, (or the worst among them as a mass,) consider them for a moment as a man. If you could only retain the friendship of an Individual by the sacrifice of everything which elevates you in your own respect — by fearing to speak the Truth, by keeping a timid silence, by debating within yourself at every turn as though he were a rich relation, "Will he like this; will he be angry if I say that; will he find out that I am but a toy for his amusement if I do the other" — would you seek to hold it, for a day? If I know you, "No." Neither would I. And because I claim to have been kindly received in America by reason of something I had done to amuse its people and prepossess them in my favor; and not with reference to something I was not to do; therefore, I write about its people and write freely.

And as I have never been deterred by hopes of promotion or visions of greatness, from pointing out abuses at home, so no amount of popular breath shall blow me from my purpose, if I see fit to point out what in my judgment are abuses abroad. And if my being an honest man bring down caprice and weathercock fickleness, and the falsest kind of insult on my head, what matters it to me — or to you — or to any man who is worth the name, and being right can look down on the crowd, and whistle while they hiss?

What is to prevent my writing? The certainty of not pleasing them. How does the certainty appear? By every claim I have upon them being disregarded and cast ruthlessly aside, at the printed bidding of some abandoned fellow; and aspersions being greedily believed which make me out a lying adventurer. My dear Chapman, if we yielded to such reasons or such men as these; in five years' time there would be no such thing as Truth in the world; and from that hour downward, her cause would be a hopeless, desperate venture. I am well convinced that in your heart of hearts, you think and feel with me. I am well convinced that there is not in my book one solitary line in which you and such as you will not most thoroughly concur. I dispassionately believe that in the slow fullness of time, what I have written will have some effect in purging your community of evils which threaten its very existence, and I know that it is written kindly and good-humoredly; and that I have never, for an instant, suffered myself to be betrayed into a hasty or unfair expression, or one I shall at any time regret. Believe me, my dear friend, the fact is literally so; and that you will find it so, to your entire contentment. And when you meet with evidences of a change in the popular opinion towards me, is it not enough to say within yourself, "If he had not brought about that change himself, he would not be the man who is my friend, but would be some other fellow whom I could hear dispraised with supreme indifference?"

Longfellow from Cambridge is staying with us just now and will return I believe by the *Great Western* next Saturday. I shall charge him with a copy of my book for you. I have caused my publishers to take such precautions as will prevent (I hope) its reaching America by the steamer which will bring you this letter. Our darlings are all well, and send all manner of messages in broken English to yours. Mrs. Dickens joins me in cordial and sincere remembrances to yourself and to Mrs. Chapman, and I am always — stay; not always unconditionally — conditionally on your not, at any future time talking about the length of your letters, or committing any such monstrous absurdity, Your faithful friend,

CHARLES DICKENS.

I have no notion of boring you with tedious remarks about the *American Notes*. The cobwebs of oblivion and the dust of indifference lie thick on every copy that can be found in this country; though not the less must we remember that it stands permanently on the record as the testimony of an intelligent and disinterested witness. Yet I am tempted to say a few words about this letter. It is Dickens' defence, his *apologia pro libro suo*. As such what does it amount to? Note first that he wrote it before a word of dissatisfaction had come from this side of the water, for it preceded the arrival of the first copy of the book in this country. Thus excuse ran before accusation, and every one knows what that means. But never mind this; the vital point concerns the value of the excuse, not its timeliness. Substantially Dickens alleges that he saw among us sundry shameful customs and characteristics which so fired his noble soul that there was nothing for it save that he should at once pick up his most vituperative pen, dip it in his most acrid inkstand, and give us the drubbing which we so richly deserved. Incidentally he declares himself to be altogether "dispassionate" and that he writes quite "kindly and good-humoredly." Indeed! Well, even so does an apparently enraged parent violently spank his child and then demand from the spankee approval for the admonition so considerately administered.

There was in the defence the fundamental defect that it did not begin at the beginning. It skipped lightly over the initial, or basic stage of the offence. Before taking up the discussion of what Dickens had written, it was to be settled whether he had any right or proper business to be writing anything at all. It was very well for him to publish *Oliver Twist* in England, his own land, where his citizenship made him a partner with the privilege of free speech in all affairs of the partnership. But in transferring his activities across the ocean and making our foreign territory the field for his reformatory operations, he did just what the Sinn Feiners are now doing to the just indignation of all intelligent Americans. In a word his earliest, fundamental offence was that of unauthorized and impertinent intermeddling, and this his defence leaves undefended — for the good reason that he himself had not the slightest suspicion, or even understanding, that such an offence could be commit-

ted by him, Charles Dickens, genius and privileged reformer. This imperception was one of his limitations. Perhaps he had never taken the trouble to make his way through the Scotch patois of one Robbie Burns. If he had done so he might have taken wholesome warning from the fine lashing which the Scottish bard gave to the imprudent Captain Grose:

> Hear, Land o' Cakes, and brither Scots,
> Frae Maidenkirk to Johnny Groats;
> If there 's a hole in a' your coats,
> I rede you tent it:
> A chiel 's amang ye, taking notes,
> And, faith, he 'll prent it!

It is a kind of visitor known in all lands and loved in none. When Thackeray visited the States, and many persons naturally expected that he would write about them, he wrote to his daughter: "I think not. It seems *impudent* to write a book." The word touched the vital point of the project and was conclusive. Of course if one is put to choose between doing a substantially good action or a merely civil one, he must prefer the good. But even in this principle there lies no vindication for Dickens, and again the instinct of Thackeray was far sounder. He said to John Esten Cooke: "I shall not write anything about America; and as for abusing you, if I do I'm damned!" And better still on another occasion: "If I can say anything to show that my name is really Makepeace, and to increase the source of love between the countries, then please God I will." That was a large and noble view. Quite otherwise behaved Mr. Dickens, who, without probably achieving a particle of good by his abusive preachments, doubtless did more than any other one man ever has done to alienate during at least a generation two nations who ought to be especially united. In the one of them he planted contempt for the other; and in that other he planted rankling and bitter resentment. Had he not better have left our faults to wear themselves out in the natural course of the development and improvement of the world?

After all it comes back largely to the statement which used to be gingerly whispered in confidential chat, but now is an accepted commonplace: that Dickens was not a gentleman. When at the dinner table he drew from his pocket a comb and studi-

ously arranged with it the hair upon his face, it was obvious that he lacked good-breeding. But it would be unworthy to lay serious stress upon defects of manners perhaps attributable to an early environment for which he was not responsible. Such show only a regrettable lack of perception. Further, his violence and incapacity for reticence were temperamental, and genius is entitled to any kind of temperament which happens to be allotted to it. But his hopeless inability to appreciate or to respect either the feelings or even the rights of others made it impossible for him ever to take position as a gentleman in the full and high meaning of that word, descriptive, as it should be, of character much more than of deportment. It was a minor bit of ill luck for Dickens that he and Thackeray happened to be contemporaries, and so to be drawn inevitably into frequent comparison. It was hard for him with his effervescent, humorous, original, amusing, very enjoyable genius, to have his deficiency in the shape of educational limitations projected, as it were, against the exquisite, rarely finished, literary cultivation of Thackeray. But it must be admitted that the gravest misfortune of Dickens' life — the publication of the *American Notes* — was all of his own making. In the ill-starred volumes all his positive faults and all his negative deficiencies found deplorable examplification. The book did much mishchief, and no good. I think this can be said with fairness, as a judgment rather than as a striking back in any vindictive temper.

Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse.

Mr. Thayer read an autobiographic letter of Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse to Dr. James Tilton. Dr. Tilton (1745–1822) was a native of Delaware who had served as hospital physician and surgeon through the War for Independence, and at the time this letter was written physician and surgeon-general, an office which he resigned two months after Waterhouse wrote.

Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse to Dr. James Tilton.

Cambridge, 24th of March, 1815.

Dear Sir, — In your letter of the 11th inst. you ask me if I wish to be retained on the peace establishment, or whether I have live-

lier prospects of ambition. You desire me to make up my mind and let you know; and you kindly add, that if you can render me any services, I must not fail to command them. And for these expressions of friendship is your patience taxed with this long letter.

My situation and circumstances are peculiar. President Adams has often said they have a striking resemblance to those of his, and our friend the late Dr. Rush, who was once reduced by his political and professional enemies almost to want bread, until he gave him the place of Secretary to the Mint, by way of anchor in the storm; and which saved him. I will relate, and you shall judge.

I went to Europe in 1775 for my improvement in physic, where I remained nearly eight years, four of them I spent at the University of Leyden; and about three in London, in the family of my relation Dr. Fothergill, who was throughout my *fulcrum*. On my return to my native place Rhode Island, I was called from thence by the Supreme Authorities of the State of Massachusetts to fill the chair of the Professorship of the Theory and Practice of Physick, Hancock and Adams being then at the head of the Government, and I sustained this office with some reputation, *twenty-nine* years, when I was dismissed for my political heresies; for in 1806, this ancient University was taken entire possession of by the notorious *Essex Junto*, who consider it their castle, or stronghold, and have accordingly manned it with picked men of their own cast. I had created and maintained a Professorship of Natural History, and during about four and twenty years, had collected and made a very considerable cabinet of Natural History, especially of minerals, yet was I gradually and insidiously, during seven years, under various pretences, stripped of the fruits of all my labour, and in 1812, set adrift with the loss of every thing but my honour. The *faction* meant to destroy me; to beat me to the ground forever — never to rise again. How these men came filled with such fell rancour towards me needs explanation.

When Mr. Jefferson came into office, the late Judge Lowell, a leading man of the *Junto*, and a very influential governor of this University, and a warm friend of mine, gave us, of the college to understand, that the church and all our other sacred Institutions were in danger, particularly the University, that therefore it behoved us Professors to ralley with the clergy, and together form *the front-rank* in the Massachusetts *army of federalism*, in opposition to infidelity, Jacobinism and *Jeffersonism*. My associates, and the clergy very generally swallowed and relished this doctrine, while I remained rather silent. I however, at length, said thus

much to my esteemed friend Lowell: "as I know not exactly what you mean by *federalism*, I should rather, that we unite and endeavour to form the front rank of knowledge, and virtue, and piety, and leave to the politician the government of the State." "True," said these Junto-men, "but WE *must form these politicians*." It is from this Seminary go all the Lawyers, Divines and Physicians, and *gentlemen*, and here they must imbibe *true* principles, (which were little more than hatred to France, adoration of England, and contempt of their own country). From this time, the exercises and orations of the students were replete with *Essex Junto* doctrines; and soon after the pulpits uttered similar sentiments. I could not entirely conceal my disapprobation of this line of conduct.

At length our papers began to be filled with pieces ridiculing Mr. Jefferson's credulity of *a mountain of salt* in Louisiana, when I sent some short dissertations to the press, proving that mountains, or vast and high bodies of salt actually did exist in various parts of the world; and I shewed to my pupils in Natural History various specimens of such salt. This stopped the current of low abuse against the President, but brought the vengeance of the party on my head. I was stiled "the flatterer of the Infidel Jefferson."

When I undertook the very arduous task of introducing and defending vaccination in its disputed march through an host of enemies, Mr. Jefferson, by his correspondence, strengthened my hands and encouraged my heart. This you may be sure did me no good with the party, who governed this college, and they began to predict that I should one day desert their ranks.

While Mr. John Quincy Adams was on a visit in my family, the memorable "affair of the Chesapeake" happened; and it electrified us both. We did not merely talk, and coolly argue, but we raved, and filled the Newspapers with our sentiments. As the Junto-party took the British side of the question, they were enraged to find that the *Professor of Oratory and Rhetoric*, and the *Professor of Physic* openly and emphatically advocated Mr. Jefferson. As it regarded myself, it was passing the Rubicon with my college-friends, and indeed the whole party. From this time, as you may well suppose, I was regarded with "*an evil eye*," and both Mr. Adams and myself experienced, at times, marks of the party's vengeance. I am firmly of opinion, had not Mr. Adams been appointed to go Minister to Russia, he would have been dismissed from his professorship. He himself thought so, and so did his father. From that time the persecution became notorious, and produced a schism in the University, but the votes of the dominant

party prevailed; and I was dismissed from my professorship in 1812, and turned out, for all they knew to starve; or to return to them again, after confessing my errors and begging pardon; for they promised me an act of oblivion and forgiveness, under *certain conditions;* which I rejected with scorn.

The late Vice President Gerry was knowing to all this persecution, and while he was governor of the State, he retarded its progress; but nothing could stop it entirely. My venerable friend, the late President Adams, saw all their movements and foretold the event; and his correspondence, which I have enjoyed for many years, down to this day, consoled me in my trials. Dr. Rush was not unacquainted with it; neither was Mr. Jefferson, who wrote to me in March, 1813, that "They (the party) may sollicit an Auto da fé to burn you for your heresy, or force you to fly south of Connecticut, where no truth is feared, where Science is honored, not reviled; and where you, as one of its sons would always be received with cordiality."

My affairs were thus situated, when Mr. Adams, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Gray and some other of my friends, undertook, of their own accord, to represent my situation to the President, and some of the heads of Department at Washington.

About this time Dr. Rush wrote to Mr. Adams and suggested my standing a candidate for a place at the head of the Medical Staff of the army. He said he had been consulted, and he had advised, that the Government should appoint a Physician General *and* a Surgeon-General; one to be a northern man, the other a southern man, that together they might be masters of the disorders, and habits of both extremes of the Union. He afterwards wrote to me, and said, that he believed, that on this plan, I would be appointed the Physician General; but he added, if the Government should from an idea of economy, chuse *only one person*, then "that person will not be you;" but a surgeon of character and great experience in one of our middle States, viz., as he said afterwards, a gentleman in Delaware. After that person was appointed, General Armstrong offered me, through the Vice President, the place of Hospital Surgeon to this District.[1] I replied that I would accept it, on the condition of being stationary, and being allowed to reside in Cambridge, or Boston; to which he assented, through Mr. Gerry; and after sending Dr. Wheaton[2] to the frontiers, sent me my appointment, here, but I never received my commission *untill yesterday*.

[1] Tilton was appointed June 11 and Waterhouse June 29, 1813.
[2] Walter V. Wheaton.

Now I have said to you what I should have said in conversation; and you know now all about it, and about me. One thing only remains to be mentioned.

The Junto, or Faction have enlisted nearly every active man in the three learned professions. They have a numerous body of intriguers, writers and preachers. In their rebellious corps I might have carried a pair of colors; but my conscience would not let me; and I threw myself into the lean, pinched up corps of Republicans, and took up my post behind the press, whence I have not only kept up a pretty constant fire, but made cartridges for others to fire from other posts. President Adams warned me early of the danger of it, and said that the faction would not hesitate to destroy me and my family also, if they could. But I felt the impulse operating like an irresistible instinct, and I cannot resist its operations. For more than seven years past have I poured an unceasing stream of Republicanism on the wheels of government, while all about me were endeavouring to impede them. If this is not universally known here, it is universally *guessed at.* The number of republican writers here is very circumscribed, while the federalists have hosts of them. We have but three republican papers in Boston, they nevertheless keep the enemy at bay, and have rendered the whole business of the *Hartford Convention* a laughing stock to the whole continent. Now I mention these things to shew, that if I were to quit Boston, our friends here would be disposed to cry out, *you have deserted us; you have thrown away your pen, for some gainful project.* The faction have been more than once defeated and put to rout by the steady fire of the republican papers; and if it slacken they will even now crowd upon us; for so long as their ambitious men are *out of place,* their hostility will be unabated. To all this I must add, that I possess a small but handsome seat with ten acres of land, on the Cambridge common, about 200 paces in front of the colleges, where my six children were born. This is about four miles from the centre of Boston, and about two and a half to our hospital. I should indeed by [be] very unwilling to quit this pleasant stand. The advantage must be considerable, and the establishment permanent, to render my decamping an act of prudence. While connected with the University my income was about twenty-five hundred dollars; of this I have been entirely stripped; and my reliance has been wholly on my pay as hospital surgeon; and of this I have not received a cent since last June. And thus you have a rapid sketch of my humble history. By it you will perceive, that I cannot live without the support of government, *for whose cause I have been sacrificed.* Mr. Jefferson is fully apprized of all this, and

Mr. Madison, and Mr. Monroe have been lately made acquainted with some of the most striking particulars.

As you have encouraged me to take advantage of your friendship, I would thank you to make such a representation as *you think* my case allows, and calls for. Cannot I be employed here in the vicinity of the capital of New England, the center of many important posts; for fix one leg of the compass in Boston, and extend the other one hundred miles, and make with it a semicircle, (the seaboard forming the chord) and see what a number of posts it includes. Beside all in the first district, it includes nearly half of the second. Why may not a medical district include two military districts, or in fewer words, *all New England;* and why may not the surgeon of No. 1 have such a jurisdiction in time of peace.

As we have no invalid establishment, like other nations, *we must* have here and there hospitals for the reception and maintenance of certain mutilated men — paralitic, nephritic, and epileptic men, who never had any homes or relations in America, of whom there are many from Ireland, and from the north of Europe. Many of them are so disabled that no person can board them and treat them properly for sixty dollars a year. It is totally impracticable. You and I know these things better than the Secretary at War. If you recur to my topographical description of this vicinity, sent you last July, you will, I trust, agree with me, that there is no spot this side of the Hudson so well adapted for such an asylum as Charlestown, where we have as neat a *little* hospital as any upon earth: and I have been sufficiently conversant with them all my life to judge of them. Altho' we have no personal acquaintance, I rely on you to express your opinion as to my care and competency.

My general idea is this. It is of importance to keep entire and together the medical system of the United States, which shall be like a ship in ordinary, that shall be fitted for sea, on a short notice, without being obliged to build one from the keel. You told me that General Armstrong was pleased with my idea of *Medical Cadets.* Why cannot that idea be perpetuated through peace? Foreign nations keep alive their medical establishments, and so ought we; for on my soul I believe that our present tranquillity is but *truce.* At least this is the opinion of our deep thinkers in this quarter.

I cannot resist believing that the government will have an hospital kept up in this vicinity. I cannot easily conceive how they can do otherwise.

As to myself I never can re-enter private practice, nor shall I ever resume lecturing. Almost all the other hospital surgeons are

young men and will commence practice, such as Wheaton and Lovell.[1] Dr. Mann[2] is not young, but he left his village practice with a partner and can resume it whenever he wishes. My wish is to be retained in the service in my old residence, and to be so situated and circumstanced as to be able to serve my country as a medical man, and *with my pen as a literary one.* I have consulted our *republican Fathers* here, and they coincide in my opinion and wishes. Forgive this long and tedious "*Talk*" for the sake of the tribe to which belongs your friend

BENJ'N WATERHOUSE.

PICKERING *vs.* WESTON, 1623.

Mr. FORD stated that early in January he had received from Mr. Victor C. Sanborn, son of our late member Franklin B. Sanborn, transcripts of the records of depositions taken in a suit brought by Edward Pickering and John Fowler against Thomas Weston and others, the two principals being connected with the fortunes of the Pilgrim migration. The transcripts were accompanied by elaborate notes made by Mr. Sanborn, and were offered for publication in the *Proceedings*. After a letter of inquiry had passed a note from his colleague in historical investigation, Mr. Charles E. Banks, gave notice of Mr. Sanborn's death on January 13, after a brief illness of pneumonia, aged fifty-three. The material thus has not received revision at his hands and is printed as an interesting contribution to the little that is known of these early adventurers in New England colonization.

Mr. Sanborn's communication was as follows:

The Exchequer Depositions by Commission[3] contain much of value in regard to early New England settlers, and are too little known to our students of history. In these files are to be found the depositions taken in a suit between two men, Edward Pickering and Thomas Weston, who were intimately associated with the Pilgrim Fathers.

EDWARD PICKERING, born about 1580, belonged to the

[1] Joseph Lovell, appointed a hospital surgeon, June 30, 1814, and became surgeon general in 1818.

[2] James Mann, of Massachusetts, hospital surgeon, had been honorably discharged in 1815 but was reinstated in 1816.

[3] These are calendared in the 38th, 39th and 40th Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records.

Haberdashers Company of London.[1] His father was one John Pickering, of whom nothing is known with certainty, save the fact that he was mentioned in his son's will. The name of Pickering, not then uncommon, was found in London early in the sixteenth century. It seems possible, however, that John Pickering came from Cheshire.[2]

In 1609 Edward Pickering took as apprentice Owen Rowe [3] (afterwards well known), who later became his partner. In 1611 or 1612 Pickering established himself at Amsterdam in Holland, for reasons of trade, or possibly because he was in sympathy with the Separatist church there. He married at Leyden, December 15, 1612, Mary Stubbe or Stubbes,[4] one of John Robinson's congregation, and thus, doubtless became interested in the migration and one of the company of merchant adventurers who financed the undertaking.

In 1612 Pickering became the agent in Holland of Thomas Weston; and they built up a considerable trade in wares of various sorts.[5] This joint arrangement continued for eight or nine years. Its success was threatened from the first, because Weston would not render satisfactory accounts. Finally, in 1621, Pickering came himself to London to obtain a settlement. Four merchants, three of whom [6] at least were members of the company which later financed Plymouth, were to draw up articles between them. Three other merchants,[7] who seem to

[1] *Herald and Genealogist*, II. 62.

[2] Pickering's apprentice was also from Cheshire.

[3] *Dictionary of National Biography*, XLIX. 345. In 1636 he intended to come to New England, and land was assigned to him at Mount Wollaston; but he never came over. He served as Colonel of the green regiment of the London trained-bands, was one of the judges who signed the death-warrant of Charles I, and was much interested in the Bermuda company. After the Restoration he was confined in the Tower, and died there in 1661.

[4] The Dutch record shows that Mary Stubbe came from "Stromse," which Mr. Dexter thought was either Romsey in Hants, or Strumpshaw in Norfolk. Stubbes, like Pickering, was a family name common to many English counties. She had two brothers, John and Francis Stubbes.

[5] The depositions (*infra*) show that one of their ventures was the importing into England of non-conformist books, then printed in Holland to escape the strict censorship in London.

[6] Daniel Poynton, Thomas White, and William Greene. The identity of the fourth merchant, Thomas Harriott, has not been discovered.

[7] John Lamotte, William Spurstowe and Thomas Colthurst were the three arbitrators originally named — all men of substance in London. For the will of William Spurstowe, see *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, LII. 138.

have had no connection with the company, were named as arbitrators. Two more arbitrators[1] were later added, at Weston's request. Pickering sent to Holland for his brother-in-law and bookkeeper, Francis Stubbes, to bring to London the original books of account. Each party to the dispute bound himself to abide by the award. John Fowler[2] was Pickering's surety, and William Greene[3] was Weston's. Before the arbitrators had made their award, Weston or his father-in-law sued Pickering on his bond and arrested him. Pickering and Fowler at once sued Weston in the Court of Exchequer, and made parties defendant Weston and his father-in-law, Weston's brother Andrew, and Dame Mary Edmondes.[4]

In the summer of 1623 Pickering fell ill, and he died at London in July. He was buried in the chapel of Allhallows, Honey Lane, 7 July, 1623. Four days later his brother-in-law, Francis Stubbes, was buried in the cloisters of Allhallows.[5] Thus, at one time, the plaintiff and his principal witness were swept away. The suit was continued by Fowler, and by Pickering's executors. How it was decided does not appear.

Edward Pickering by his will[6] left £50 "unto that hopefull worke begunn in Newe England, to be ymployed and layed out for the benefitt and helpinge ouer those Englishe people

[1] Richard Bladwell and Thomas Wetherall.

[2] This may have been the John Fowler who witnessed the sealing of the Cape Ann patent in 1623. I take it he was the "John Fowler of Walbrook Ward," mentioned as able to lend money to the King in the list of 1640; 2 *Misc. Gen. et Her.*, II. 116.

[3] A William Greene signed (with Pickering) the letter of 1622, warning the Plymouth settlers against Weston; but this could hardly have been Weston's surety. There may be some confusion of Christian names here; see (*infra*) a connection between Weston's wife and the Greenes of Market Overton.

[4] This was the widow of Sir Clement Edmondes (1564?–1622), Clerk of the Privy Council, and, according to Wood, Master of Requests. For Sir Clement, see the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVI. 389. He was to get some part of the bond, if collected.

[5] *Registers of Allhallows, Honey Lane*, (Harleian Society), 271.

[6] The will of Edward Pickering, proved in P. C. C. 26 Aug. 1623 (Swann 86), is printed in *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XLIX. 369–370. His death in that year shows why his name was not appended to the composition with the London company in 1626. The accusation of his unwillingness to help send more of the Leyden colony to Plymouth (which Mr. Dexter suggests) seems to rest entirely on Weston's letter of April 10, 1622.

whoe dwell in Laydon thether." His widow continued to live in Holland.[1] They had three children:

i. John, who may have been one of the John Pickerings who later came to New England, though proof is lacking.[2]
ii. Mary, of whom there is no further record.
iii. Sincere (a daughter), who married in Leyden 18 March, 1636, Elias Arnold.

Thomas Weston was born about 1585. His ancestry is not known with certainty, but it seems probable that he came from Shropshire — perhaps from Shrewsbury.[3] He was certainly not a brother of the Earl of Portland, as has been suggested.[4]

On August 5, 1602, he was apprenticed to Rowland Heylin,[5] of the London Company of Ironmongers. Heylin[6] served twice as Master of that Company, and was Sheriff of London in 1624. He was a native of Shrewsbury, of good Welsh descent, and through his munificence the Bible was first translated into the Welsh language.

March 21, 1611, Weston was admitted by servitude to the freedom of the Company of Ironmongers. An adventurous character, he soon enlarged his trade. Through his agent in Holland, Edward Pickering, he undoubtedly learned of the plan of the Leyden colony, to settle in the New World. Weston's own visit to Holland in 1619, perhaps undertaken to look after his affairs in the Low Countries, had this important result to New England, that he persuaded the Pilgrims not to negotiate further with the Dutch government, or with the Virginia Company of London; but to depend on Weston and his friends among the London merchants for funds and ship-

[1] *England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, 628. See also the license of June 25, 1624, for "Ellinor Shillcock and Charitie Blunden, servants to one Mrs. Pickering widdow resident at Amsterdam" to go to Holland. *Genealogist*, n. s. XXV. 173.

[2] John Pickering of Salem came probably from Coventry in Warwickshire; *Aspinwall Notarial Records*, 334. For other Salem people from Coventry, see *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XVIII. 151–, 153. John Pickering of Piscataqua (Portsmouth, N. H.) was born about 1610. There is nothing to show from what part of England he came.

[3] One Simon Weston, a draper of Shrewsbury, was a contemporary. He was perhaps connected with the Westons of Rugeley in Staffordshire, and his daughter married into that line. Andrew Weston, of Fitz in Salop, was also contemporary; this was the name of Thomas Weston's brother.

[4] This claim of brotherhood is made in *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, XLI. 285.

[5] This information comes from the Clerk of the Company of Ironmongers; see his letter (*infra*).

[6] *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXVI. 323.

ping for their voyage.[1] This, I take it, was the beginning of the London company of merchant adventurers who financed Plymouth; and Weston was probably their first Treasurer. Mr. Adams justly says, that without Weston's support, temporary and inspired by unworthy motives as it was, "there can be little doubt that the Plymouth settlement would not have been effected when and where it was."[2]

About 1620 Weston married Elizabeth, the daughter of Christopher Weaver,[3] a merchant, sometimes of Stamford in Lincolnshire and sometimes of London, belonging to a good Welsh family, from Presteign in Radnor. His wife was Alice, the daughter of John Greene[4] of Market Overton in Rutlandshire. Christopher Weaver died at London, and his will, describing him as of Stamford, was filed in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in 1648 (74 Essex). His son, John Weaver of Stamford and North Luffenham, was a prominent Puritan, served in the Long Parliament, was Commissioner for Ireland under Oliver Cromwell, and later a member of Richard Cromwell's Council of State.[5]

Early in 1622 Weston, in spite of his large promises, had abandoned the Plymouth settlement, or, as seems possible, the London company, warned by Pickering's revelations of Weston's untrustworthiness, had bought him out. His finances were failing, and he sought to recoup himself by colonizing on his own account, perhaps by more devious methods. In January he and John Beauchamp sent over the little *Sparrow* of thirty tons, to fish and trade. The *Sparrow* went on to the fishing grounds, but her master sent a boat to Plymouth bearing six or seven men, the advance guard of Weston's colony of "rude fellows."

In March, 1622, Weston himself fitted out two more ships, the *Charity* and a small pinnace, the *Swan*. While these ships were loading at London, and while Weston was picking up his

[1] Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, I. 99–100.

[2] Adams, *Three Episodes in Massachusetts History*, 47.

[3] Weaver pedigree in Maddison, *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, 1046, 1047, from Herald's College MS C. 23.

[4] Weston's relative, Richard Greene, came over in charge of the Wessagusset colony, and died at Plymouth. Winslow calls him a brother-in-law of Weston; he was probably a cousin of Weston's wife.

[5] *Dictionary of National Biography*, LX. 90. His appointment as Commissioner for Ireland may explain the hitherto unsolved enigma of why Elizabeth (Weston) Conant, a niece of John Weaver, lived in Ireland from 1652 to 1684; see p. 172, *infra*.

disorderly band "at all adventures," the purser of the *Charity*, Philemon Powell,[1] was arrested and imprisoned. This arrest of the purser hung up the whole voyage. Weston at once petitioned[2] Lord Cranfield for Powell's release, or for his prompt trial, alleging that his arrest was delaying "at least .80. persons lying at the petitioner's charge." Whether this released Powell or not, we are not told, but in April or May the two ships sailed for New England. Sixty men, the main guard of Weston's colony, stopped in Plymouth (at the charge of the settlers there), while the *Charity* went on to Virginia with passengers and supplies for that Colony.

The *Sparrow* fished at Monhegan, came down to Plymouth in midsummer, and went on to Virginia, where Weston is said to have sold both ship and fish.[3] The *Charity* came back to Plymouth in August, and took Weston's company to begin that short-lived settlement; she then returned to London. The little *Swan*[4] stayed at Wessagusset.

Weston himself came to New England early in 1623 "with some of the fisher-men, under another name, and the disguise of a blacke-smith" — probably to elude the officers of justice,[5] who may have been set on his track by Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The deposition of Francis Stubbes (*infra*) stated that "Weston doth now [1623] absent and hide himself, and hath done so for a year or thereabouts."

The later life of Weston has been well told by Mr. Adams and by Mr. Ford.[6] Dr. Johnston has furnished illuminating

[1] Powell deposed in the Pickering-Weston suit as a "leather seller of London." He was probably a servant of Weston's, and turned up again in Virginia in 1627. *Virginia Mag. of Hist. & Biog.*, XXVII. 37, 265.

[2] This petition (*infra*) was found in the Sackville MSS. Mr. Arthur Newton, through whose kindness the petition is sent, states that a new calendar of the important Sackville MSS. is now being prepared.

[3] Weston is said to have bought Beauchamp out of the *Sparrow* "before she came from Plymouth." One Maunder, the purser, laid claim to some interest in her; but Weston showed that Maunder was so poor that he (Weston) had to lend him the money to come over.

[4] The *Swan* was an unlucky boat; and Robert Gorges did well to give her back to Weston, who traded with her up and down the coast. A scapegrace servant of Weston's ran her aground at Damariscove, and heavy damages had to be paid to one Captain Martin for a ship-load of tobacco spoiled. This unfortunate servant (Edward Nevell), for contempt of the Virginia Court, was sentenced cruelly "to lose both ears, and never to be freeman of Virginia."

[5] Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History*, 145, 146.

[6] Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History;* and his *Address* at the

details.[1] He sailed many times between England and New England, Virginia and Maryland. He was certainly at Virginia in 1627, but a gap exists in the record of his life from then until 1639, when he was in Boston,[2] and again in 1640.[3] In 1642 he brought from England five immigrants to Maryland, for which service he was granted 1200 acres of land,[4] afterwards erected into Westbury Manor, in the Province of Maryland. In January, 1645, he was again in Maryland, in financial distress because his goods in England had been seized the year before by Sir Francis Bassett, the Vice Admiral for Cornwall. He is said to have returned to England, and to have died of the dysentery in Bristol in 1645 or 1646. No proceedings in his estate appear in the files of the English probate courts. His will was evidently exhibited to the Maryland Provincial Court in 1647, when it was approved, and administration was granted to John Hansford of York County, Virginia;[5] but the will itself is not now extant.

The wife of Weston, Elizabeth Weaver, survived him; their only surviving child was Elizabeth, born in 1632, who married Roger Conant the younger (the first white child born in Salem). She was brought to New England in 1639 or 1640, and was left in Marblehead with Moses Maverick, who had married a daughter of Isaac Allerton. No satisfactory reason is found for this young child being left in New England.[6] Her

250th anniversary of the founding of the town of Weymouth. Bradford, *History*, and notes in *Proceedings*, LI. 219–232.

[1] *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, L. 201–206.

[2] Lechford's *Note Book*, 130.

[3] *Ib.*, 147.

[4] Maryland Records, Liber ABH, fo. 58.

[5] Maryland Land Records, Liber 2, fo. 254; Records Provincial Court, Liber B, fo. 224. This John Hansford or Handford (father of Col. Thomas Hansford who was educated for his share in Bacon's Rebellion) was perhaps the principal creditor of Weston; though he may have been a connection, for the court record seems to show that Weston, in his will, had named him as executor. He was probably the son of Sir Humphrey Handford of London, one of the Virginia Company, and descended from the armorial family of Handford of Cheshire and Worcestershire. Mr. Tyler says that the Virginia Hansfords had seventy acres of land in York County, which had originally belonged to Weston. The Maryland land, Westbury Manor, passed to the Conants.

[6] Fuller information is desired here. England and Ireland were in ferment in 1639 and 1640. Salem and Marblehead may have seemed more secure. It is not known whether Weston allied himself with Puritan, or with Cavalier. His wife's family was certainly Puritan.

first child, John Conant, was born in 1650. Shortly afterwards, leaving this child with his grandfather, she and her husband went to Ireland,[1] where Roger Conant died in 1672. His widow returned to Salem in 1684, and died in Marblehead in 1711, aged 79.

EXCHEQUER DEPOSITIONS.

Michaelmas Term, 22 James I, No. 59. Depositions taken 25 June, 21 James I [1623], on behalf of Edward Pickering and John Fowler, complainants, against Thomas Weston, Andrew Weston, Christopher Weaver, and Dame Mary Edmondes, defendants.

FRANCIS STUBBE, of Hunny Lane in the ward of Cheape, merchant, aged 23.

Has known Pickering ten years, Fowler five or six, Thomas Weston nine or ten; and Christopher Weaver, who is the said Thomas Weston's father-in-law.

There hath been trade between Pickering and Weston about nine years, ending September, 1621, Pickering residing for the most part in Holland, and Weston in London. Deponent was bookkeeper to Pickering in September, 1621, and about eight years before. Pickering lived in London before going to Holland for the bettering of his trade; was then reputed of good estate, and left a partner in London, where his chief trade continued.

Has heard that Weston solicited Pickering to let this deponent also go over to Holland, for their better converse and trade together.

Pickering, after often requiring accounts from Weston, which he always promised and never rendered, refused to give him further credit, or to have further dealings with him. Money was generally sent by Pickering to Weston, and not the other way, except £100 which Weston sent to Pickering. Weston often drew great sums on Pickering before the wares Pickering had of Weston were sold; and Weston hath acknowledged the same in divers letters under his hand to Pickering, intreating Pickering for patience, and to forbear him.

He is persuaded that Weston made far more profit of Pickering than Pickering did of Weston; what Pickering made did not, he thinks, countervail his charges in Holland, his loss being far more, in likelihood, than any benefit he had by it. Weston's debts to Pickering amounted to many hundreds of pounds; but, because Weston would never render any account, Pickering was content to

[1] *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, L. 202–203, 205–206.

take factorage, which did not amount to £200 for all his trouble, and the adventure of a great part of his estate for many years. He hath heard that many merchants would have dealt with Pickering in Holland, had he not been so cumbered with Weston's affairs.

Deponent made, and sent over to Weston every year, properly stated accounts, without deceit or falsity to his knowledge.

When the arrangement was terminated between them, Andrew Weston brought over to Holland Pickering's letter to the deponent, directing him to deliver all wares of Weston's that remained, as Weston was sending over to sell them on his own account. Certain goods had been sold after Pickering's coming over to England, and after the last account had been rendered, Andrew, after perusing the account, acknowledged the wares produced were the full remainder, and gave a receipt for them in Pickering's book. Deponent offered him other goods which had been received in barter for some of Weston's goods, but Andrew refused to take them, alleging that he had no order to take them.

Upon an account beginning 12 December, 1615, Weston stood indebted to Pickering for ready money disbursed for certain books printed in Holland, to the amount of about £80, which was more than the value of the books remaining in deponent's hands (to sell in Holland) were worth.

Pickering sent for this deponent to come from Holland to England at great charge, with his books and accounts, so that all might be justly settled between them. Soon after his arrival in England, about 24 December, 1621, a particular account was delivered to Weston of all transactions on Pickering's side, and Pickering demanded as particular an account from Weston, who delivered a false account, both in manner and matter, being general, intricate and not to be understood, and actually false. Arbitrators were chosen between them, before whom Weston could not justly take exception to Pickering's account; but the arbitrators could make nothing of Weston's account. Deponent hath since heard that Andrew Weston, his brother and servant, hath boasted that Weston only bound himself to give an account — not a *true* account. The arbitrators gave Weston further time to amend his account, which he hath not done, to this day. By Weston's desire two other merchants were added to the original arbitrators, Viz: Richard Bladwell and Thomas Wetherall of London.

Weston did not keep faith as to appointments with the arbitrators, but proceeded to arrest Pickering on a bond he had given for £1500 to abide the award that should be made, for which the arbitrators reproved him. Weston doth now absent and hide himself, and hath done so for a year or thereabouts.

Deponent hath heard Andrew Weston greatly complain against Christopher Weaver for his unconscionable proceedings touching the extent sued out on a bond for £800, saying that Hell would be Weaver's portion for the same.

Pickering hath always endeavored to send Weston good and vendible commodities.

There was a partible business between Pickering and one Owen Rowe, by whom Pickering has always dealt honestly; some goods were delivered to Rowe by Weston on Pickering's account.

Since 19 July, 1621, Pickering never received any goods from Weston.

DANIEL POYNTON, of Milk Street in the ward of Bread Street, London, grocer, aged 32.

Has known Pickering twelve years, Fowler ten, Thomas and Andrew Weston and Christopher Weaver about seven.

Knows that Weston would not render accounts duly, and that Pickering was drawn to give him further credit by the persuasion of William Greene and others, who passed their word for his honest dealings.

This deponent, Thomas White, William Greene and Thomas Harriott were the four merchants chosen to draw articles for a settlement between Pickering and Weston; and John Lamotte, William Spurstowe and Henry [sic] Colthurst were named arbitrators, to cast the accounts, etc.

THOMAS WHITE, of St. Mary Woolnoth in Lumber [Lombard] Street, London, merchant, aged 44.

Did know Edward Pickering deceased about ten years, Fowler ten or twelve, Thomas Weston nine or ten, Andrew Weston about eight, and Christopher Weaver only by sight.

William Greene, Weston's surety, was a man of small worth, while John Fowler, Pickering's surety, was a man of good account in the city of London.

Andrew Weston told this deponent, when he remonstrated with him for dealing very badly with Pickering, that Sir Clement Edmondes was to have a share of the bond.

There are depositions by THOMAS WETHERALL, THOMAS COLTHURST, RICHARD BLADWELL, JOHN LAMOTTE and WILLIAM SPURSTOWE, to the same effect as above.

ANDREW DORE, of St. Martin's in the Fields, gent., aged 47.

This deponent says that Andrew Weston, or some other whose name he knoweth not, came to the White Horse in Lumber Street,

and there said to a young man that if he had known the matter had been so foul, he would not have meddled with it.

RANDALL THICKNIS, citizen and merchant of London, aged 40.

Deposes as to the articles drawn between Weston and Pickering; and how the articles drawn by Weston were redrawn by Mr. Stone, a counsellor, being unequal, and impossible to be performed.

Michaelmas Term, 22 James I, No. 22. Depositions taken at Shrewsbury 28 September, 23 James I [1625], on behalf of defendants to complaint of John Fowler, James Shirley and Richard Andrews, executors of Edward Pickering deceased.

JOHN VAUGHAN, gent., of Coomery, co. Montgomery,[1] aged 40.

Knew Edward Pickering deceased for four or five years before his death, and has known Weston about twenty years.

Believes that Weston employed Pickering as his factor or dealer at Amsterdam. Divers differences arose between them, which were referred to merchants of London, whose names this deponent remembreth not.

About 9 Feb. 1617[–18] he met with Weston and Pickering at the sign of the Golden Fleece in Cornhill, where Weston pulled from his pocket the account now produced to this deponent, demanding if it were his account, and Pickering said that it was, and it was a just and true account.

On behalf of the complainants, JOHN VAUGHAN deposes that he never could perceive by speeches of Pickering other than that Pickering was indebted to Weston; but how much, other than may appear by said account, this deponent knoweth not.

Hilary Term, 22 James I, No. 2. Depositions taken at Shrewsbury 18 Jan., 22 James I [1624–25], in a suit depending between the Attorney General, plaintiff, and Richard Andrews, James Shirley, John Fowler and Thomas White, defendants.

JOHN VAUGHAN deposes as above.

Hilary Term, 22 James I, No. 8. Depositions taken at the sign of the Mighter in Wood Street, London, 20 Dec., 22 James I [1624] in suit as in No. 2 of this term.

ANDREW WESTON, of London, ironmonger, aged 25.

Deposes that Pickering was factor to Thomas Weston at Amsterdam, and did depart out of London (as he hath credibly heard) for

[1] In the *Visitation of Shropshire* (Harleian Society) he is described as of Lloydiart, in com. Montgomery.

matter of religion. Pickering was a shopkeeper in London, and his estate was but mean, but improved through the credit of Weston.

Hath heard Weston divers times say that Pickering dealt unjustly with him, sending him wares marked with his own shopmark in Amsterdam, that had lain by and deteriorated, and were therefore unvendible.

By an account made out by Pickering's servant in Amsterdam there appears to be about £800 due from Pickering to Weston; upon receipt of which, Pickering refused to allow it, saying his servant had made a mistake. Weston thereupon caused Pickering to be arrested. The matter was then referred to arbitrators [as above].

Pickering had neglected to allow Weston for £130 interest due on £400 delivered by Weston to one Owen Rowe of London, haberdasher, at Pickering's request divers years since.

Believes that Pickering died indebted to Weston in the sum of £500.

Deponent was apprentice and servant to Weston for seven years.

HENRY MATHEWES, of the precinct of St. Katharine near the Tower, oatmeal-maker, aged 57.

Deposes that Pickering was factor for Weston at Amsterdam.

On 25 Dec. 1621 Weston demanded of Pickering in the shop of the said Pickering a true and perfect account, disputing items in the account rendered.

RANDALL THICKNIS, of Coleman Street, citizen and whitebaker, aged 40.

Pickering was Weston's factor, and lived at Amsterdam at Weston's request, to deal for him. Pickering was a shopkeeper in London, and a man of good credit.

Deponent went with Pickering to Weston's house in London, and left an account with a woman maid.

Pickering said to deponent, at the time of the winding up of their connection, that Weston was greatly in his debt.

PHILEMON POWELL, of London, leatherseller, aged 30.

Deposes as the two last.

CHRISTOPHER WEAVER, citizen and mercer of London, aged 50 or thereabouts.

Deposes that John Fowler offered to make a composition with this deponent, on behalf of Edward Pickering, paying him £236, which appeared to be due from Pickering to Weston, other matters

to be referred to Mr. George Weaver of London, merchant, a kinsman of this deponent.

Owen Rowe, of St. Mary Bow, West Cheape, haberdasher, aged 33.

Deposes that Thomas Weston delivered to him £400, at the order of Pickering.

The Petition of Thomas Weston.[1]

To the right honoble: the Lord Cranfield Lord high Treasurer of England.

The humble peticon of Thomas Weston.

Humblie shewing that whereas your pet'ns: servant Philemon Powell by your honours warrant hath bene apprehended and restrayned of his libertie theis .9. daies (hee not knowing wherfore)

Now for that the said Philemon Powell is Purser of a shipp which the said peticoner (by authoritie of the Lords of the Councell) hath sett foorth for New England, wherein are at the least .80. psons lying on the pet'rs, charge, which amounteth one waie or other to .5. li a day at least, staying onlie for the release of the said Philemon Powell who hath the Charge and accompte of the voyage under his hand: which is not onlie a hinderance to the pet'r but will be the overthrowe of the whole voyage, in regard their long staie here, will be a cause, that they shall come too late to provision for winter.

Hee therfore humblie praieth that the said Philemon maye either bee released, or brought speedilie to his answer.

And the pet'r shall daylie praie for your Lo'pps long health with increase of honour.

[Endorsed] Rd. 18 March 1621 (1621/2). Mr. Weston, concerning Philemon Powell's discharge.

J. F. A. Beck to Victor C. Sanborn

The Worshipful Company of Ironmongers.
Wax Chandlers Hall, Gresham Street,
London, E. C. 2, 12th November 1920.

Dear Sir, — I have now searched the Company's records for information with regard to the late Mr. Thomas Weston. I find that a Thomas Weston was apprenticed to Mr. Rowland Heylin on the 5th August, 1602, and that he was admitted to the Freedom of

[1] From Lord Sackville's mss. at Knole Park, Sevenoaks: referred to in the 4th Report of the Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission, pt. 1 of Appendix, p. 277.

the Company by servitude on the 21st March, 1611. Mr. Rowland Heylin was Master of the Worshipful Company of Ironmongers in the years 1614 and 1625, and was Sheriff of London in the year 1624. He was stated to have caused the Bible to be translated into Welsh, and to have promoted the publication of a Welsh Dictionary, and a Welsh translation of the celebrated work of Lewis Bayley, Bishop of Bangor, entitled *The Practice of Piety*. He died in 1637.

I regret that I am unable to give you any further information about Thomas Weston. The Company's records at this early date do not give any records of parents or addresses. Yours faithfully,

J. F. ADAMS BECK
Clerk.

V. C. Sanborn, Esq.

WOODMAN LETTERS.

The following letters are selected from the papers of Horatio Woodman and touch upon Paul Hayne, a literary character of the South, of generous appreciation of Boston; Woodman's own sketch of Rufus Choate; and Southern aspects of national politics before 1861.

FROM PAUL HAMILTON HAYNE.[1]

CHARLESTON, December 22nd, 1854.

MY DEAR FRIEND: — Many thanks for your letter of the 8th, and the various journals, containing notices of my little venture, which I have received from time to time during the last month. *Particularly*, let me thank you for your own indulgent, and truly gratifying articles in the *Transcript*, and *Advertiser*. They put my mother, and wife into a perfect state of beatification, and your discernment as a Critic is pronounced of the first order. Truly your kind critiques have made *three* hearts happy. Knowing how sincere is your nature, they have encouraged me to believe that there is at least *some merit* in my book. That is eno' to make me persevere notwithstanding the *counter* opinion of the *Evening Gazette*, whose Editor I perceive has "pitched" into me after the most approved manner of modern "slashing." Of course I comfort myself by the usual resort of a "used up" man. I blaspheme the *Gazette*, and try to console my wounded vanity by the reflection that this very sagacious paper speaks superciliously of *Taylor's* poetry in a paragraph two consecutive sentences of which contain a repetition of

[1] (1830–1886.)

the word "AS" (!!) eight times, or a dozen times repeated, I forget which.

Do say to Mr. Dwight that the journal whose literary department I am connected with is the *Evening News*.[1] I received last evening six numbers of his paper containing the German story, and his fine translations. I am heartily sick of Charleston already, and would give a great deal to return instanter to Boston. A strange state of mind you will think. The fact is, the people here are such damnable old fogies. Their ideas of propriety are as stiff as buckram. And so, you have not as yet seen Donna Inez? Ah! when that bright vision dawns upon your life, thenceforth you *must* be an *altered* man. I presume Mr. Whipple[2] and yourself still continue to patronize the *Major*. How is that worthy gentleman, that soft, sleek impassive host whose morning bow, and original observations upon the weather are characterized by such inimitable *bonhommie?*

Let me know from time to time concerning persons and things in Boston. It will greatly relieve the monotony of my life here. By the way how is Geo. Ed. Rice?[3] Should you meet him, say that I intend writing to him in a few days.

I know the scoundrel has been chuckling over that article in the *Gazette*. If he has been *too* lavish of his sarcasms, let me know, because in that case won't I abuse Hamlet, and Ephemera. I'll write a critique two columns long to prove that *these* works ARE the "most pitiful, and trashy ever penned," altho' the thing might be established more briefly. Of course, my dear W., I am only joking. I like R. and would not for the world hurt a single hair on the crest of his self-esteem. My very best regards to Mr. Whipple, and *all* my friends in Boston, including the Metcalfs. I wish Miss Julia would permit me occasionally to drop her a line, but I am not presumptuous eno' to ask it. Write soon!! Most Truly Yours,

PAUL H. HAYNE.

P.S. Return Burns and other books to J. T. F[ields.]

CHARLESTON, September 8th, 1856.

MY DEAR FRIEND: — I received your last letter about a week since, and together with it a numerous assortment of extracts from

[1] The *Weekly News* is in the Library of Congress.

[2] Edwin Percy Whipple (1819–1886).

[3] George Edward Rice (1822–1861) made a "fanciful adaptation" of Hamlet under the title of "A New Play in an Old Garb" (1852), and in the same year, with John Howard Wainwright, printed anonymously a volume of verse with the title of *Ephemera*.

various journals and papers chiefly political, which have been quietly resting in my box at the P. O. for many weeks.

You must know that I have been upon a grand hunting and fishing expedition into the wilds of middle Florida, i.e. among the Islands skirting the Coast, and that the days passed so pleasantly I found the temptation to linger irresistable. Thus, I have spent a portion of the summer in perfect idleness, but not altogether I trust without mental profit. At Cape Romaine I saw the most miraculous sunset that ever flushed the Heavens of this lower sphere. I killed six wild turkeys (altho' that delicate bird is out of season), shot a mammoth buck, caught any quantity of fish and lived upon fresh turtle soup for a month! What a life was that! And then the cool breezes directly from the Gulf Stream, the splendid flood-tides, the delicious bathing! I wish you could have been with us.

I have looked over your budget of papers with great interest. As for the Brooks affair, I have never bestowed the slightest thought upon the matter. My only regret was that Brooks, whom I know, (and who is really a very gentlemanly commonplace person notwithstanding his present absurd notoriety) should have acted with such precipitate rashness, and that Mr. Sumner of whom I entertained a high opinion should have proved himself so deficient in manliness and energy of passion.

IF stunned by Brooks' first blow, he ought to have given his antagonist notice that whenever and wherever he encountered him hereafter, his (Brooks') life was forfeit!

I would rather burn a hundred years in Hell than submit to a Public indignity — and *such* an indignity.

At the same time my dear friend, Sumner's speech must be regarded as a most unfortunate effort. It was in a high degree ungenerous, and unstatesmanlike, and as regards S. Carolina is a series of misrepresentations and special pleading from the beginning. Now remark! I am *not* defending Brooks; I simply wish to say that the whole affair appears to me to have stirred up a ridiculous amount of excitement; that opinions have rushed into extremes, and that Sumner is *not* a martyr, nor Brooks a common "stabber" and "ruffian." But eno' of this unpleasant theme. Pray write and tell me the condition of my friends in Boston. Is Rice still with you? Does Whipple still look with favor upon broiled chickens, and burgundy? Doth Fields retain his happy faculty of "quipping and quirking"? and hath the versatile Gilman withheld his corporeal estate from the grip of the Sheriff?

These I think are leading questions which as a good lawyer you must not allow to go by default.

I must postpone my visit to your city for several months on account of a literary project which has unexpectedly been thrown into my hands. Several of the Capitalists of Charleston have formed themselves into a joint stock Company for the purpose of raising the funds necessary to support a monthly Periodical [1] after the Plan of Blackwood, and I have had the honor to be appointed one of the Editors. This must keep me quite busy until the latter part of October, but then if possible I shall come to Boston. You may expect a series of *Lectures* from *Simms* [2] in November which perhaps we may hear together. They refer to Southern topics mostly, but such as may be of general interest. Simms is a noble fellow, but reared in solitude, and full of the faults which are fostered by a life long isolation — egotism for example, and the bad habit of talking *ex cathedra*. My best regards to Whipple, Rice, and all inquiring friends. Is the latter married? Tell him that I have (apropos of marriage) a *Son* — a perfect trump of a boy with the blackest eyes and the most vigorous genital developements that co' be found anywhere. Pray write soon and Believe me, Ever Truly Yours,

P. H. Hayne.

The Poem on the Plague in the W. Indies is *very* striking. Thank you for it. I hav'nt seen Emerson's new book. Shall procure it today. Has Stoddar's new volume of poems appeared? [3] Make Fields send me a copy. God bless you, my dear friend, and so for the nonce, Adieu.

Charleston, August 17th, 1859.

My Dear Mr. Woodman; — So many years have passed since my last letter to you, that I seriously fear you have forgotten me altogether.

And yet, I would fain *not* believe in this *total obliviousness*. When I reflect upon the delightful summer of 1855 [1854]; which was *chiefly* spent in Boston, of the *many*, and I think *true* friends, whose acquaintance I then made, it is scarcely possible for me *not* to hope that *some* of them (yourself among the number) still remember my existence, and perchance, take a certain degree of interest in my welfare.

These sentences *sound* formal, and yet, Heaven knows! I would not have them so. To Boston, and the few friends I am proud to

[1] *The Charleston Literary Gazette.*

[2] William Gilmore Simms (1806–1870).

[3] Richard Henry Stoddard (1825–1903), whose *Songs of Summer* appeared in 1857.

number among its people, I always look back with the *liveliest feelings* of *satisfaction*. If circumstances favour me, (as they *may* one of these days), my intention is, to settle with my family (a small one, for I have but *one* child, a *boy*) in *Boston*.

To a literary man, the City of Charleston, offers no inducements *whatever*. Besides, the summer-climate would undermine the health of A BUFFALO. Please drop me a *line*, and inform me how you are, and what is your present position. Are you *still* a Bachelor, or has that dark-eyed Spanish girl you wot of, or some other syren, completed your destruction by enticing you into *matrimony?* Pray, what has become of *G. E. Rice?* Is he still your partner?

God bless you, my old friend; neither Time, nor Distance can make me forget all your kindness to me in former years. By the way, I have another volume in the press of Ticknor & Fields, dedicated to Whipple.[1] Ever,

P. H. HAYNE.

AIKEN, So. CAROLINA, August 6th, 1860.

MY DEAR OLD FRIEND; — I do not think that I have as yet replied to your kind note of the 20th July, commenting upon a recent notice of Simms in the *Atlantic*,[2] and also upon some previous remarks of mine, in reference to your own *superb* essay on the genius and character of *Rufus Choate*.[3] Although for years past, we have seldom corresponded, believe me when I say, that I *still* venture to look upon you as one of my *warmest* and *truest friends*.

That little episode in a dreary life, which embraced my brief visit to Boston in 1854, always rises before me as the *pleasantest portion* of my existence; nothing but the *sternest* of necessities could have prevented me from coming North again.

But I live in HOPE. The time *must* arrive, I think, when we shall shake each other by the hand once more.

To return to your letter. The opinion you express regarding the *supercilious* observation upon Mr. Simms, and his novels, which appeared in "the *Atlantic*" (for July), is, I can't help believing, a natural and proper one. I have always, to the utmost of my poor ability, opposed this miserable sectionalism in *Literature*. If a man of genius appears in *any* State of the Confederacy, for Heaven's sake, let us recognize him.

Having lost my own copy of the article, I wrote to the "*Mercury Office*" some time since, to beg the Proprietors to send me a brief

[1] *Avolio, a Legend of the Island of Cos.*
[2] LXIII. 357. It was written by Cornelius Conway Felton.
[3] *Atlantic Monthly*, VI. 79.

critique I had written upon your analysis of the endowments of *Choate*. They have neglected my request. But I'll address them again, and trust they may put it in my power to mail you the imperfect editorial in question.

Fields, I hear, has returned. How does he look? and what report has he brought you of the old World? He did me the honour of writing to me a *most delightful letter*, recording his impressions of the "Isle of Wight," and of a couple of days spent with the Poet Tennyson!

Ah! happy those men who visit the *old world*, and mingle with its true and wise artists!! *Twice* I have myself been on the eve of sailing to *Europe*, and *twice* untoward circumstances have intervened to prevent me!

Do you ever meet Geo. Ed. Rice? If so, present my *kindest* remembrances. I beg to be remembered also to Mr. *Whipple*, and all *other friends* etc. Believe me always Truly Yours,

Paul H. Hayne.

Aiken, So. Carolina, August 19th, 1860.

My Dear Friend; — If you knew how *much real pleasure* your letters gave me, I think you would write to me *oftener*. Yours of the 14th reached me yesterday, coming like a pleasant message of good will and friendship from a City, which ever since *1855* [1854], I would gladly have made my residence, had Fate permitted. For, I *love* Boston. Some of the happiest days of my existence were spent there.

As for Charleston, and So. Carolina *generally*, let me say to you, what I should *not* say to *almost any other*, that a more unfortunate home for an Artist, (whatever his degree!) could not be found in the broad circle of Christendom!

The people are intensely provincial, narrow-minded, and I must add — *ignorant*. *Literature*, they despise. *Poetry*, they look upon as the feeble pastime of minds too effeminate to seek manly employment! In *one* word, they are — but I hav'nt the patience to tell you *what* they are!

Only believe me! nothing but *hard*, hard necessity could have kept me here for so many weary and disgusting years. One thing is *certain*. If the opportunity ever presents itself, I shall take a final farewell of the South, and "pitch my tent" not far from "Bunker Hill."

I have lost my *Patriotism*, because it is impossible to maintain patriotism in Purgatory. Don't think me peevish and discontented.

It is hard for a man, who "has *never yet been sick a day*," to whom

the most brilliant society on the continent is open, who lives in a mental atmosphere, like that of Boston, in frequent intercourse with Emerson, Hawthorne, Whipple, Lowell, etc., etc., to comprehend the distress, the despondency, the utter heart-sickness of one whose home lies among influences *so* depressing, that the very glory of youth, the very heart's blood of ambition, are destroyed, and crushed out within him!

But, I must beg you to pardon this wild strain. The truth must break loose sometimes, or it would strangle us.

I rejoice to hear that *Fields* has returned, looking so "*hearty and English.*" Hawthorne too, has come back to the congratulations of his friends. You may well term him "the greatest man in our Literature." If you would do for him what you have done for Rufus Choate, you would really confer a benefit upon the Public. And now, for the present, good bye. If I live, I will certainly accompany you next season, to the N. Hampshire Mountains; I can endure my life at the South no longer, without taking a brief intellectual holiday.

Best regards to *Mr. Whipple*, Rice, and all friends. Believe me, Ever Faithfully,

Paul H. Hayne.

From Henry W. Bellows.

New York, November 2, [18]59.

Dear Sir: — I thank you for your scorching yet decorous notice of my worthy brother. I had privately written him that he purchased his right to abuse T. Parker's theology in his own congregation somewhat dearly, by first catering for the raging thirst for the blood of N. England's great deputations, which is the *delirium tremens* of Boston fanatics. They have got beyond ordinary drunkenness. To every truly great man's memory, they seem to say, "Fe, fo, fum, I smell the blood of an Englishman. Dead or alive, I must have some."

It is high time, these conscientious ghouls were treated according to their deserts. So practised in opprobrium are they, that few are willing to throw *stones* at them, lest they should return only *mud;* but it is the duty of wise men to make themselves targets of their filth rather than permit them to go unrebuked — for they are debauching the taste and conscience of the middle classes at a fearful rate.

With many thanks for your concise article, which seems admirable in argument and excellent in style, I am yours truly,

Henry W. Bellows.

From C. R. Brewster.

Charleston, 27 December, [18]59.

My dear Sir, — Your favor of the 17th Inst. is received. . . . [with] your printed defence of Choate as a lawyer. Mr. Clarke[1] must feel rather small after the perusal of it. What does he know of Choate? These self-styled Clergymen, of his stamp, had better confine their reflections to texts which can be found in the Bible. Their biographical sketches of men outside of their own profession are of little value, still less their *political diatribes*, upon matters about which they are profoundly ignorant. Such ministers of religion as Mr. Clarke and political Demagogues on the subject of Slavery, etc., are, by their continual harangues, shaking the Union to its foundation.

I sincerely hope that such Union meetings as you have lately had in Boston, with such speeches as those of Everett and Cushing's may prove to be the beginning of a wholesome reaction.

The sympathy manifested for 'Old Brown,' has produced an intense excitement at the South, throughout the whole length and breadth of it. They have not had, until these manifestations took place, any idea of the extent of the fanatical bitterness which their Northern brethren have cherished towards them.

The only remedy is in the Ballot Box. Abolitionists and fanatics must *there* be put down, or there will be no hope for the continuance of the Union. . . .

C. R. Brewster.

From Epes Sargent.

Boston, June 19th, [18]60.

Dear Sir, — Don't think me intrusive if I thank you for your very admirable remarks on Mr. Choate. They place before me very vividly and truthfully the moral and mental features of a man I greatly loved and esteemed. They present his graceful and chivalrous traits with charming distinctness and force; and offer such an analysis of his success as a jury-lawyer as must strike every one who knew the man for its unexaggerated clearness and beauty.

I first became acquainted with Mr. C. some twenty years ago in Washington, where our intercourse was to me of a very delightful character. When I was getting up my "Standard Speaker" he put his whole library at my command; pointed out to me many of the gems of oratory which I have placed in the collection; and would never grudge me an hour or two of conversation in his office even

[1] James Freeman Clarke.

when clients were fretting for him in an adjoining room. It was a good illustration of the unselfish and unambitious character of the man, that though he gave me so much valuable assistance in selecting from the productions of others, I could get no aid from him in finding suitable extracts from his own speeches. The result was that only two brief specimens of his own eloquence occur in the volume. He would put me off with vague promises of finding something, but the convenient moment never came. I rejoice to see so truthful and eloquent and at the same time so calm and judicial an estimate of Mr. Choate, as you have given us. It presents us what I hope will be his *historic* features, as they will be seen in the annals of the American bar, a century hence. Truly Yours,

EPES SARGENT.

FROM AMOS TAPPAN AKERMAN.[1]

ELBERTON, Elbert County, Georgia, August 18, 1860.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I have just finished your article on Mr. Choate in the *Atlantic*, and can no longer delay acknowledging your letter of February 23d with its welcome enclosures — all which I have read carefully, looking eagerly for the mental lineaments of my old schoolfellow, and sometimes persuading myself that I saw them, but obliged to confess to myself in the end that another character has supervened. The schoolboy was bold and energetic, not insensible to the beautiful, but loving more the strong, given to vigorous strokes, rather than delicate touches, exquisitely pleased with the latter but seldom attaining or aspiring to them. The mature writer has become critical, analytic, nicely discriminating, subtle, a skilful detector of shades of difference, and a master of language in which his delicate observations are well expressed. I can well understand how your studies and your society should have wrought this change. Perhaps it is a natural transition — the gradual polishing of the rough block. I recognize some of the old features in the article on Mr. Clarke's sermon. That "pig-headed sense of duty," which leads people into all manner of meanness, is one of the most unlovely features of New England character.

I wish I could return you some of my writings, but I do nothing in that way except occasionally a political article, intended for readers not very enlightened or very critical, and therefore rather coarsely framed. Indeed, for many years past I have not been able to cultivate common scholarship, still less elegant literature. My pursuits have been practical and engrossing. Those accomplish-

[1] (1819–), a graduate of Dartmouth College in 1842.

ments would not increase my power over the minds with which I come in contact, and there is no circle here in which they would be prized. To seek them as a private luxury alone would be an unpardonable piece of frivolity, when it would require a sacrifice of more substantial objects.

In politics I go for Mr. Bell — the only representative of the old Whig feeling now in the field. He will receive a respectable popular vote in Georgia, but at present it is unsafe to prophesy the vote of the State. Mr. Douglas will have a warm support here, but the greater number of Democratic leaders are for Mr. Breckinridge, and the relative strength of the two is not yet ascertained. Should Mr. Lincoln be elected, there will be a powerful disunion party. It will however be a minority in Georgia. Their effort will probably be to accomplish their object not by bringing the question to a popular vote, but by a collision in our seaports with the government officials, that will inflame the people to a red heat.

If slavery could be expelled from our politics, or make only as little figure there as twenty five years ago, many gloomy apprehensions would be removed. Should a crisis come, I shall abide the fortunes of Georgia. Having deliberately settled myself here, I feel bound to her fate. But there are those in the North whom I should hate to think of as out of my country.

I thank you for the writings which you have sent me. It was particularly gratifying to read something about Mr. Choate that was appreciative and sensible. His mind was singular. You seem to have hit the solution of the difficult problem how he could be so florid and yet really profound.

If I revisit the North, of course I will try to spend some time with you. My last visit, in 1858, was too hurried to allow me much pleasure of that sort. Meanwhile I shall be always glad to hear from you. Very truly yours,

AMOS T. AKERMAN.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Dr. F. C. SHATTUCK.

MEMOIR

OF

HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

BY FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER.

HENRY ERNEST WOODS, State Commissioner of Public Records, and a member of this Society since the 8th October, 1908, died suddenly of angina pectoris in the Hotel Weldon at Greenfield early in the morning of the 11th October, 1919, while on an official visit to that town.

He came of Groton stock on his father's side, and was the eldest son of Henry Thayer Woods, of Boston, and his wife Ellen Thayer. He was born at Boston in his grandfather Elijah Thayer's house, 181 Salem Street, the 5th July, 1857.

His childhood was spent in and around Boston, where at the age of six he first went to school, which he was forced by a severe illness to leave the following year. His subsequent attendance at the Chauncy Hall School (1865–76) was further interrupted by illness and journeyings in this country and abroad. A severe accident, which threatened the loss of his eyesight, prevented his entering Harvard College as of the Class of 1881.

In the winter of 1871–72 he made a voyage to Cuba, and from then until 1880 there was hardly a year in which he missed a journey in some direction. In 1873 he spent seven months travelling through Scotland, England, and a portion of the Continent, and in 1881 he went abroad again with the late Curtis Guild and other friends — school associates who had just graduated from Harvard — remaining for about two years and visiting Turkey, Asia Minor, and northern Africa. His summers, when he was at home, were spent at Kennebunkport, Maine, where he was actively interested in its social affairs.

Very Truly Yours,
Robert Ernest Woods

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Mr. Woods was engaged in business for several years, and had expected to make this his regular occupation, but his natural tastes led him along far different paths. By instinct, literary work appealed to him strongly, and for a time in the eighties he was an occasional contributor of light verse to *Life*. Perhaps the best of his contributions was the following, which was thought worthy of one of Harry McVickar's drawings.

"Where ignorance is bliss
'T is folly to be wise." — *Gray.*

She was a winsome country lass,
So William, on a brief vacation
More pleasantly the time to pass,
Essayed flirtation;
And as they strolled in twilight dim,
While near the time for parting drew,
Asked if she 'd like to have from him
A *billet-doux*.

Of French this simple maid knew naught,
But, doubting not 't was something nice,
Upon its meaning quickly thought.
Then in a trice
Upward she turned her pretty head;
Her rosy lips together drew
For purpose plain, and coyly said,
"Yes, Billy, do!"

ENVOY.
And William did!

With his membership in the New England Historic Genealogical Society in 1880 Mr. Woods may be said to have begun that line of work with which he became best identified.[1] An accurate and painstaking genealogist, a careful and conservative student of heraldry, maliciously called the science of fools with long memories, a constant user of the Genealogical Society's and other libraries, he was the natural successor of John

[1] Mr. Woods was also a member of the following societies: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts (a founder, 1892), American Antiquarian Society (1907), Bunker Hill Monument Association (director); a corresponding member of the Maine Historical Society, Western Reserve Historical Society, Old Northwest Genealogical Society; and an honorary member of the Phi Beta Kappa (Harvard Chapter).

Ward Dean as editor of the *Register* in 1901.[1] In 1902 he was chosen editor of the Massachusetts Vital Records, publication of which was about to be undertaken by the Genealogical Society, as a pioneer, under an act of legislature. By inclination and self-training he was admirably fitted for his editorial duties, and his work was marked by the utmost care and good judgment. From 1892 to 1901 he had assisted in editing the publications of The Colonial Society. In 1903 he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Bowdoin College, and four years later was appointed by Governor Guild State Commissioner of Public Records, an office that he held until his death. Though he was prevented by his official duties from frequent attendance at the meetings of this Society, none the less his pride in being a member was keen.

For many years Mr. Woods lived with his mother, who was a chronic invalid and a great sufferer, but for some time past had roomed in Newbury Street, Boston, not far from the Saint Botolph Club, which he made his headquarters. He was survived by two brothers, Herbert, and Arthur L. Woods, who was engaged in the wool business in Boston.[2]

The various phases of Mr. Woods' career are defined with a curious degree of abruptness. His travels ended with his return from the Near East in the early eighties; business was dropped for more congenial undertakings; his contributions of verse to *Life* came to an abrupt end after a short time, and he wrote no more verse because, as he said in explanation, he had written himself out; his genealogical work ceased, practically, with the publication of "The Woods Family of Groton" in 1910; dancing, which he had taken up as a form of exercise, and in which he became much interested and equally proficient, was given up definitely before the war was long under

[1] Apart from occasional reviews and reports, the following appear to be Mr. Woods' contributions to the *Register:* Pray of York and Kittery, Maine (1901); Some descendants of Digory Sargent of Boston and Worcester, Mass. (1904, reprinted); [Introduction and notes to the] Tayer (Thayer) Family entries in the parish register of Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England (1906, reprinted with the following item); Abstracts of wills relating to the Tayer (Thayer) family of Thornbury, Gloucestershire, England (1906); The family of Henry Curtis of Sudbury, Mass. (1907); Records of the original District of Carlisle, Mass. (1908); The Woods Family of Groton (1910, reprinted).

[2] Arthur L. Woods, while suffering from a nervous breakdown, committed suicide in a sanitarium at Arlington the 24th October, 1920.

way; and with the unexpected suddenness of his death his official duties were terminated with the same degree of finality that characterized the burning of each of his bridges behind him during his lifetime.

To one who knew "Harry" Woods intimately it is difficult to write of him without seeming to intrude upon the privacy of friendship. A certain outward reserve hid from the casual observer a real appreciation of what lay beneath the surface. Tactful and courteous in his intercourse with people, he was none the less wholly frank in the expression of his opinions, and firm beyond moving when the occasion demanded. It was impossible to avoid understanding exactly what he intended to convey. But, particularly for those for whom he cared, or who had done him any service, there was a warmth of feeling, and an absolute unselfishness of action, that made it a pleasure for him to give of his time freely to assist his friends in their undertakings, asking no better reward than the satisfaction of knowing that he had been of use to them.

His office in the old part of the State House was a veritable bureau of information. The "Public Records" on the door seemed to invite those invading the building for one purpose or another to enter and seek therein the information that they desired. They seldom departed without having it given to them, even at the expense of some trouble, or being told where to get it. Other officials, too, were in the habit of consulting Mr. Woods about a variety of matters that did not concern his work, and welcomed the clear statement of his views that they were sure to receive.

As a public servant Mr. Woods knew no politics in the performance of his duties. Though a Republican, and originally appointed by a Republican governor, he was entirely non-partisan in seeing that the requirements of the laws relating to the preservation and custody of the public records were carried out, and none of the friends that he made as an official were stronger, or voluntarily worked harder for him when there was seeming danger that a Democratic governor might fail to reappoint him, than those of the opposite political faith. His whole-hearted honesty and uprightness impressed all who came in contact with him, and his tactfulness in dealing with the many town and county officers whom he met on his visits

throughout the commonwealth brought about the pleasantest relations. At such times as it became necessary for him to take a firm stand, his fairness and impartiality were so patent that no sense of bitterness was left behind.

Mr. Woods' acquaintance was a large one, but in spite of it his life was of necessity rather a lonely one. Ill health, and a dislike of sports of any kind, precluded the enjoyment of much that is left open to those of more robust constitution and different tastes, while unselfish devotion to those of his immediate family needing his assistance further curtailed the scope of his activities. None but a few intimates knowing the full extent of his sacrifice could appreciate the quiet and uncomplaining dignity with which he bore his self-imposed burdens. To those closely associated with "Harry" Woods, who, perhaps few in number, were the recipients of the sincere and unselfishly loyal friendship of which he gave so freely, his going leaves only too keen a realization of what that friendship meant. Possibly no better summing up of his character can be given in a few words than those spoken by our fellow member, the Reverend Charles Edwards Park, in reporting his death to The Colonial Society at its annual meeting in 1919: "Henry Ernest Woods, State Commissioner of Public Records, who dignified his office by his own faithfulness and worth; whose life, both public and private, was an uphill battle. He had the reserve of suffering, the loneliness of bravery, the modesty of self-sacrifice; and his real value as a friend and a public servant is fully revealed only by his death."

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1921.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the first VICE-PRESIDENT, MR. WARREN, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported among the accessions:

From Miss Helen C. McCleary, a collection of books, pamphlets, and manuscripts from the library of her father, Samuel Foster McCleary (1822–1901), for many years a Resident Member of the Society, including forty-three volumes relating to Napoleon, and ten scrapbooks kept by Mr. McCleary in the 40's.

From Mrs. Mary Baury (Jackson) Rathbone, an account book of Hugh Hall, Esq., a merchant of Boston, kept from 1728–1733, with entries of the sale of negroes sent here from the Barbadoes.

From Mr. Dowse, his certificate of appointment by Governor Calvin Coolidge, May 15, 1920, to be the representative of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at the Pilgrim Tercentenary Celebrations in England.

From William Farley Brewster, of Chicago, Illinois, a photostat of a letter of Sarah W. Sibley to her husband, dated at Detroit, February 13, 1822.

From Captain Philip Leach, U.S.N., a photostat of the letters patent, granted on April 13, 1797, to Caleb Leach of Plymouth, for invention of machinery for boring and finishing wooden conduit pipes.

From Mrs. Josiah B. Millet (Emily A. McCleary), on deposit, a book kept by her father, Samuel Foster McCleary (1822–1901), containing engravings and manuscript and printed material relating to his Class of 1841 at Harvard College.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Miss Helen C. McCleary, a number of photographs, engravings and relics relating to Napoleon; two oil portraits, one of her grandfather, Samuel Foster McCleary (1780–1855), first City Clerk of Boston, 1822–1852, and the other of her father, Samuel Foster McCleary (1822–1901), second City Clerk, 1852–1883; a musket carried by her father while a member of the Independent

Corps of Cadets, which was used in the Peninsular War in Europe, and captured from the British troops in this country in the War of 1812; a photograph, taken from a daguerreotype, of the Aldermen of Boston, showing the first City Clerk standing by the side of Josiah Quincy, Mayor; engraving of John Phillips, by F. T. Stuart; engraving of Washington, by George Girdler Smith; a mezzotint of Washington Irving, by C. Turner; view of Boston Common, 1825; engraving of Battle of Bunker Hill; engraved certificate of the Franklin Statue, 1854; an album of photographs of royal families in Europe.

From Mrs. Mary Baury (Jackson) Rathbone, of Washington, D. C., badges of the Loyal Legion of the United States; of the Veterans of Farragut, inscribed to Samuel Jackson, 1861–65; of the Aztec Club, founded in the City of Mexico in 1847 by officers of the United States Army of Occupation; a medal of the Aztec Club, struck to commemorate its 50th Anniversary, October 13, 1897; medal of the Society of Colonial Wars, struck to commemorate the 150th Anniversary of the Capture of Louisburg, June 17, 1745; and various articles used by Lieut. Frederick Baury, U.S.N., on the *Reindeer*, and by the Baury family.

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, an engraving of Mrs. Roger Morris (Miss Mary Philipse), by J. Rogers.

From the Selectmen of Swansea, the service medal of the town in the Great War.

From the Pilgrim Tercentenary Commission, two bronze seals, one reproducing the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the other that of the Plymouth Colony, set in milestones recently erected by the Commission on the highway between Boston and Plymouth and Provincetown; photographs of two of these stones, in Plymouth, and in Quincy; three photographs showing the present condition of the shore at Plymouth, the proposed shore and memorial, and the proposed canopy; and a photograph of Cyrus E. Dallin's statue of Massasoit to be erected on Cole's Hill, Plymouth.

From Dr. Storer, the bronze Pilgrim Tercentenary medal of the Boston Numismatic Society, struck to commemorate its sixtieth anniversary.

Dr. Lawrence deposited, with brief remarks, in behalf of Miss Marion McGregor Noyes, of South Byfield, Mass., the original manuscript poem, by Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The History of Fortus."[1] 1813. It contains two pen-and-ink

[1] Printed in *Records of a Lifelong Friendship*, 1807–1882. *Ralph Waldo Emerson and William Henry Furness*, 1910.

sketches by William Henry Furness, Emerson's classmate at the Boston Latin School.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Allan Forbes, of Westwood, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

Gabriel Hanotaux, of Paris, France, a Corresponding Member, was transferred to the roll of Honorary Membership.

George Gregerson Wolkins, of Newton, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Vice-President announced the death of Professor Barrett Wendell, a member of this Society. President Lowell spoke of the long intimacy and cordial relations he had enjoyed with Professor Wendell and of the personal loss to himself.

Mr. Rhodes read as follows:

Of Barrett Wendell's numerous publications I shall speak of only four: *English Composition*, published in 1891, is invaluable for any writer in that it furnished useful generalizations of what in most books of rhetoric are isolated examples. Given to the world when he was thirty-six, it shows much thought and the turning over in his mind of what had occurred to him in ten years of teaching at Harvard College. He was full of the subject and went to Augustus Lowell, then Trustee of the Lowell Institute, and asked him would he not like a course of lectures on the theme on which his mind dwelt. The result was eight lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute during November and December, 1890, printed afterwards in a little book which has undoubtedly been good training for many writers.

Nine years later he published *A Literary History of America*. No one who writes on contemporary literature or history can hope to escape criticism. So Wendell found it. Giving full vent to his powers of wit and sarcasm he offended some people to whom he would fain have avoided giving offense. But he seemed himself to see things so clearly that he must express himself with plainness no matter whom it hit.

His kindness of heart, however, was great. I remember that when Lichtenberger, one of the exchange French professors, was here, he, Wendell, Judge Grant, and I were going to take luncheon together. On the day arranged for, I was called up

early on the telephone and received the word that Lichtenberger's daughter had died suddenly in Paris and he was overwhelmed with grief. I sent word at once to Wendell, who came immediately to see me, and said that he would seek Lichtenberger at the Colonial Club and ask him to stay at his house for the few days before embarking for France as, Wendell continued, the poor fellow will want in his hour of distress some other environment than a Club. He saw Lichtenberger, secured his passage home and, as the Parisian could not speak English, he devoted himself to him for the day in arranging the little matters necessary for a change in his date of sailing. And Lichtenberger was no intimate friend but one whom he had scarcely known in France and whose acquaintance had been made while at Cambridge. I was told that such acts of kindness were of frequent occurrence with Wendell.

To return to *A Literary History of America* — if anyone doubts that Wendell was a thorough American let him read what he wrote about Washington Irving. His prose, he averred, has hardly been surpassed, if indeed it has been equalled, in nineteenth-century England.

His appreciation of our historians is apt. He spoke of Bancroft's "diffuse floridity of style," and of Motley's "sincerely partisan temper." Prescott's works admirably "combine substantial truth with literary spirit." Parkman's style finally became a model of sound prose. While gifted with a singularly vivid imagination he was too careful a scholar to risk undue generalization. Parkman naturally suggests this Society and Wendell's devotion to it was sublime. Rarely absent from a meeting, his record since 1893, when he was made a member, is one for his family to be proud of. Sometimes at home in an evening, instead of reading the last novel he would pore over the volumes of Proceedings so that he was well informed of the past of the Society. In Committee, or the Council, he was thoroughly efficient, and it was a pleasure to work with him, so well did he combine tact with positive knowledge.

Perhaps Wendell is better known by the *France of To-Day* than by any other of his volumes. It is a remarkable work, and when one reckons that it is based on the observations of a comparatively brief visit one is reminded of Tocqueville, whose

short stop in the United States resulted in his celebrated book. Discussing Wendell at one time with President Eliot, I said he seemed to me to realize in some degree the saying, "A prophet is not without honor save in his own country," for when I visited New York everybody inquired what Wendell was doing? Was he going to write some more volumes like his *France?* Why, said Mr. Eliot in reply, a man in China, to the manner born, last year wanted to know of me all about Wendell.

Missing one of his lectures on France at the Lowell Institute, I went to Cambridge, where he was giving their repetition. I heard one with intense interest on family life in France. Returning to Boston in the trolley car I fell into conversation with a gentleman who also had heard the lecture, and said that while Wendell's talk might not be popular it was absolutely true: he knew it, as he had himself lived in Paris for twenty years on intimate terms with French families.

To me, it seems as if his last book, *The Traditions of European Literature,* was the greatest. Too intense application on its final completion is probably why we mourn for him to-day, as we did at the crowded and silent Trinity Church. Apparently better when he went to Portsmouth in the early summer, the finish of this book so exhausted him that his disease made rapid progress. It is a great work and his analysis of Greek and Roman writers may well be regarded as one of his final legacies to posterity. The many appreciations of this book rate it highly and indicate what an intelligent consideration of classical literature still remains among writers for the American press. To those who must rely on their knowledge of ancient authors through translations this work comes as a thorough vivification and review.

From his many books it may well be perceived that Wendell was a bookish man: he loved study and he loved books. For many years a member of the Library Committee of the Boston Athenæum, he was constant in attendance and unrivalled in his choice of literature. This man was so universal in his taste, that although loving Homer and Shakespeare he could still see virtue in Mark Twain and he did not hesitate to point out that what Cervantes had done for Spain in his *Don Quixote,* Mark Twain had done for the United States in his Odyssey of the Mississippi — *Huckleberry Finn.*

Although a thorough student he was a man of the world and loved society. To mention only one of his many social activities, he was devoted to the Wednesday Evening Club. Almost always present, showing a courtesy that appeared to be traditional, he seemed to personify the saying that Civilization is manifest in two or three gentlemen in evening dress talking quietly together in a room.

Mr. Grant then said:

Like President Lowell, I had assumed that Mr. Wendell's death would not be announced until a later meeting, so I have made no preparation. But at least I can speak from an overflowing heart. There is no one outside my family with whom I had closer associations or whom I should miss more. We did not know each other as boys, but for more than forty years I have known him as a man. He was some three years after me at college, but we were both contributors to the *Lampoon* in its early days. Our intimacy, of somewhat later date, grew as the years went on. He was ever the most loyal of friends; sympathetic and generous in his appreciation of others' efforts; so ready to give the best of himself when applied to. As one of his colleagues said to-day in regretting that he had seen little of him of late — "But one always felt that he was there!" Our literary tastes were a bond between us; and he often told me that it had been his ambition to write more fiction; but already his days were full with the development of composition at Harvard of which President Lowell has just spoken, and with the literary studies that won him further renown.

In outside matters we were not invariably in accord, but without strain upon our friendship. He had no sympathy with what we call modern ideas — especially of social justice. He could never see why because a man left a large estate it should be made to pay more and in a progressive scale than his who left less. As some one has already said — he was the last of the fine old Tories. He was an aristocrat in the literal sense of the word, he clung to the rule of the best. He had the courage of his convictions always, however reactionary they might appear to those who listened, and reflection sometimes proved him to be right after all. Nothing he said was commonplace;

he was incapable of the "bromidic." He had a quality of mental sympathy and understanding very helpful to others, especially those who worked under him. Two of his former students, men of note, have said to me to-day that he was the greatest formative influence in their lives.

Professor GREENOUGH spoke as follows:

First as an assistant, then as a colleague, and always as a pupil and friend, I knew Barrett Wendell from 1899 until his death. Our work together was chiefly in American literature, a subject which engaged much of his attention and exhibited his character and skill as a teacher with singular attractiveness. For his knowledge on all subjects was derived nearly as much from travel and conversation as from study, and the fullness with which he thus understood earlier New England, not to mention other phases of American literature, was to me a constant lesson in the insufficiency of knowledge derived merely from books.

When our acquaintance began, Mr. Wendell's position at Harvard was distinguished and in some respects unique. He had been an instructor in English from 1880 to 1888, then for ten years an assistant professor, and in 1898 he had been made a full professor. In 1891 had appeared his *English Composition*, which even we undergraduates felt had minimized the unattractiveness of that subject, though we did not realize how long it was destined to survive, in spite of the vast number of its rivals, on account of its apt and memorable analysis and its uncommon virtue of exemplifying the qualities which it recommends. In the same year, 1891, Mr. Wendell had very skilfully contrived to humanize Cotton Mather — a particularly difficult task at that time because the Mather diaries still had to be used in manuscript. Two years later, in 1893, had come *Stelligeri and Other Essays concerning America*. Not a few of us were attracted by the highly characteristic title essay of this volume, and thus came to a dim realization of what his older friends knew to be one of the deepest passions of Barrett Wendell's life — his curious and beautiful piety toward the Harvard of the past.

When in 1898 Mr. Wendell began to offer his course in American literature, he was, I believe, the first to present that subject systematically at Harvard. It at once obtained a well-deserved popularity, and occupied him more and more until, in 1900, he published his *Literary History of America*. Criticism of that book for its preoccupation with the writers of New England has never been lacking and is no doubt deserved; yet it treated many of them — even the greatest — with what their admirers thought scant courtesy and, partly on account of its very faults of proportion and of judgment, aroused some very useful counter-blasts and greatly advanced the prestige of its subject in American colleges.

Mr. Wendell tried only once — and then not quite successfully[1] — to write the history of a period. The history of a literary genre he never essayed: that was a kind of research in which he often expressed disbelief. Nor did the allurements of "classicism" and "romanticism" at all attract him. What he liked was personality in literature — particularly distinguished personality — and he sought it with less and less preference each year for any particular century or country. Herein lies one of several resemblances between him and his master, James Russell Lowell.

It was characteristic of Mr. Wendell to be intensely interested in subjects for a time. He would improve his lectures each year until he felt that he could not much better them; then he would usually publish them; and after that he did not much care about teaching that particular thing again. His gradual loss of faith in the teaching of English composition began not long after he had published his admirable book on that subject, and had become complete long before his death. Similarly he had, in 1896, taken the lead in devising a series of courses in which English literature from 1557 to 1892 was treated in units of about a half-century. These courses were largely taken and did a great deal of good. In 1906, however, Mr. Wendell, sharing with a few other members of the Department certain

[1] In 1902–03 Mr. Wendell gave the Clark lectures at Trinity College, Cambridge, and published them in 1904 as *The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature*. Though they left something to be desired, these lectures hardly deserved the severe handling which they received from the *Saturday Review*. Mr. Wendell believed the reviewer to be the late John Churton Collins.

doubts about the success of these courses, took the lead in abolishing them.

In spite of his widespread and often very detailed knowledge, Mr. Wendell had little sympathy with the usual programme of studies leading to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy; could not use German; cared nothing for sources; was never thoroughly familiar with the periodical literature of his subject; and rarely investigated minute points. In a prefatory note written for a book by his intimate friend, Professor John Hays Gardiner, Mr. Wendell spoke of his own "impatience of detail"; but this phrase (curiously echoing the almost identical words of James Russell Lowell) does not explain his antipathy to all that German scholarship holds dear. For Barrett Wendell could take great pains with whatever he thought worth while. He deeply admired the best of the French theses for the *Doctorat ès lettres* and often expressed the wish that he could do work like that of his friends Beljame and Legouis.

Though Mr. Wendell took little note of the needs of graduate students, he was eagerly interested in getting undergraduates to take a better Bachelor's degree, and his efforts to persuade men to try for distinction by the simultaneous study of history and literature were fruitful, and, in fact, did much to hasten the adoption of the present requirement at Harvard of a general examination for the Bachelor's degree.

His manner in the classroom, his ingenious and often deliberately eccentric diction, and the whole air and presence of the man, endeared him to many, though they excited the speechless rage of some. He was never commonplace: on that point his best friends agreed with his harshest critic. No book or lecture from him, no speech, even of the shortest, in Faculty or committee, but was marked by the full impress of an extraordinarily interesting and suggestive mind — a mind which detested the mysteries of the augur as it did the vulgarity of the barbarian.

Although the teacher whom I have thus endeavored imperfectly to summarize owed most of all to himself, he was deeply indebted to James Russell Lowell, with whom he had studied Dante and Old French. In a sense, Mr. Wendell may be said to have carried on some portion of the priceless tradition which is suggested by the names of Lowell and of Charles Eliot Norton.

It is perhaps not inappropriate, therefore, particularly since I cannot find words of my own at all fit to define the feeling of his pupils toward him, to close with some sentences (from *Stelligeri*) in which Mr. Wendell summarized his impression of Lowell as a teacher. "Here was a man who . . . found in literature not something gravely mysterious, but only the best record that human beings have made of human life; who found, too, in human life — old and new — not something to be disdained with the serene contempt of smug scholarship, but the everlasting material from which literature and art are made. Here was a man, you grew to feel, who knew literature, and knew the world, and knew you, too; ready and willing, in a friendly way, to speak the word of cordial introduction. There came . . . a certain feeling of personal affection for him, very rare in any student's experience of even the most faithful teacher."

Mr. LODGE sent, later, the following letter:

WASHINGTON, February 22, 1921.

DEAR Mr. FORD: — To the grief I felt when I heard of the death of Barrett Wendell came the added pang that it was not possible for me to be present at his funeral or at the meeting of the Historical Society which followed on the same day. Wendell was to me a very dear and most valued friend, one of the nearest, one of those whose opinion, interest and criticism meant so much of help and support at every stage. He was by five years my junior and he was six years after me in college. I did not begin to know him until he had graduated from Harvard and our friendship began and ripened slowly through forty years until it finally became very close and to me at least of very high importance.

I was drawn to him first, I think, by his talk when I met him and then by his books, always so well written and with an unfailing originality of view and of thought in every one. It was a continuing satisfaction to see the steady growth of appreciation of his intellectual qualities which passed beyond the limits of his own country and found well deserved recognition both in England and France. A scholar in the finest sense, an inspiring and beneficent teacher, he wore his learning lightly and was always the most charming of companions. No one could ever have been wearied in his company. His work, his writings, his place in literature, will receive in due time the analysis and review which they deserve. In a few words written as these are in the hour of sorrow, it would be impossible to do them

justice for they demand pages instead of sentences. That which has been uppermost in my mind ever since the news of his death arrived is not so much the powers of his intellect as the personal qualities which made him so dear as a friend. I know what he was to me and as my thoughts travel sadly backward that which rises most vividly in memory is the sympathy, so comprehending and so unfailing, which always went out, alike in shadow or sunlight, to those for whom he cared.

He was the most generous of men in his recognition of the success of others and he gave it on his own judgment without waiting for the acclaim from the voices of the world. He found merit in the work of others in any field on his own motion, and when he found it never hesitated to express it. He was the soul of loyalty when his confidence and trust were once given. The fact that a man differed from him never led him to believe that he who so differed must be not only wrong or mistaken but also bad. He knew that the best of friends might sometimes differ if they were agreed in what was fundamental in the conduct of life. He was eminently just and those who knew him best valued his criticism next to his praise and his praise was a very precious reward to those upon whom it was conferred. He was entirely fearless and one felt always that with him one might be sure to hear the truth as the truth appeared to him. Very affectionate, with great tenderness of heart, he drew to himself a like affection from those who knew him best.

These are but stumbling and hopelessly inadequate words which I have written here as I am only too well aware, but they perhaps will serve as a brief, all too brief, record of my sense of the loss which has befallen this society as well as of the deep sorrow, the blank in life not to be filled which has come to me personally by the death of Barrett Wendell. Sincerely yours,

H. C. Lodge.

Mr. Ford read a paper on Joseph Jefferson by Gamaliel Bradford, which has since been published in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

MEMOIR

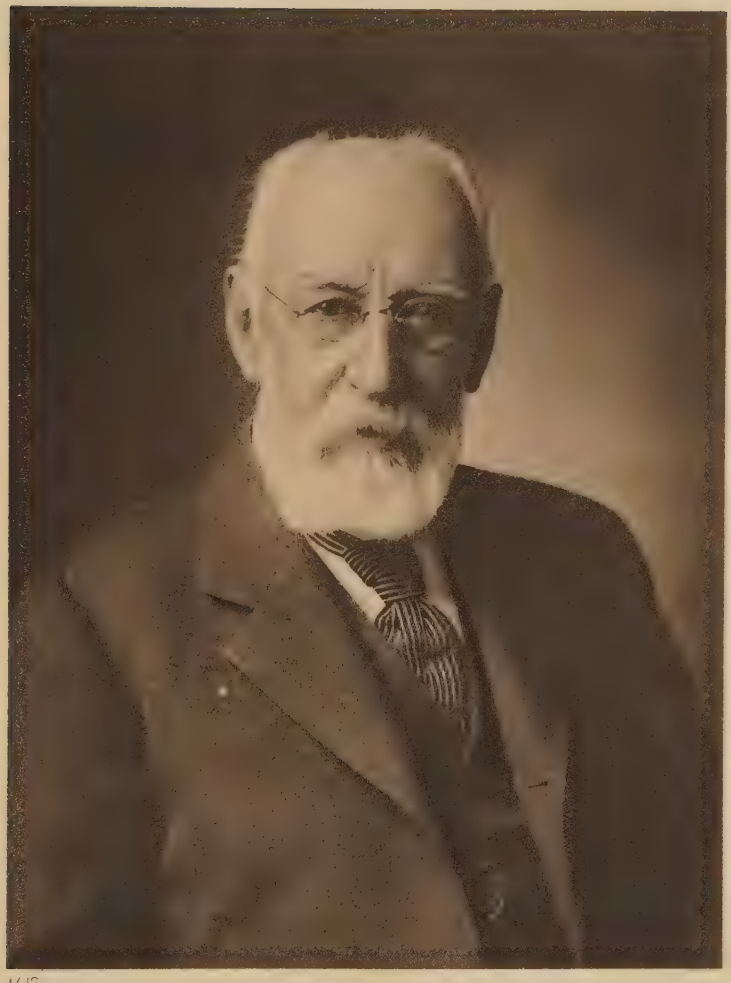
OF

ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.

By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Andrew McFarland Davis was born in Worcester, Mass., on December 30, 1833, and died in Cambridge, Mass., on March 29, 1920. He was the son of John Davis — Governor of Massachusetts, and popularly known as "Honest John" Davis — and of Eliza Bancroft. On both sides he came of old Yankee stock, that stock which settled and built up Worcester County and earned for it the honorable title of "Heart of the Commonwealth." He attended the public schools of Worcester, and was preparing to enter Harvard College when in 1849, his uncle, George Bancroft the historian, who had been Secretary of the Navy and was actually Minister to England, secured for him an appointment as Midshipman. Bancroft had recently established a Naval Academy at Annapolis, and evidently naval affairs were a familiar topic in the family.

Although young Davis had expected to go to Harvard, with probably the study and practice of law afterward, he eagerly accepted the appointment with the radical change of plan for his career which it seemed to involve. In an entertaining fragment of autobiography which he wrote half a century later, he said: "However much I had looked forward to a career at Cambridge, the pleasure of that prospect was more than offset by the visions of service at sea, and by the thought of calls at foreign ports; of the recognized social position of naval officers throughout Christendom, and of the security offered by a life appointment in government service." After spending a few months at the Naval Academy, he reported to duty on the



Andrew McF. Davis

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Independence, which joined the Mediterranean squadron. For more than two years he served on the Mediterranean station at Gibraltar, at Naples, at Alexandria, at Beyrout and Jaffa, at Trieste and Messina. In the hope of getting more sea-service and less of the tedious duty in ports, he transferred to the *Cumberland* and finally, having rejoined the *Independence*, he returned to the United States in the latter part of 1852.

One event which happened during his naval service, Mr. Davis used to describe in his later years. During the Revolution of 1848, Pope Pius IX fled from Rome and took refuge at Gaeta with Ferdinand II—"King Bomba." The following year he resided in one of Bomba's royal palaces at Portici. Some of the sailors and marines of the *Independence*, which was then anchored at Naples, were allowed to pay their respects to His Holiness, who received them benignly. Davis describes Pius thus: "The Pope received us standing in the center of the room. He had on a white woolen cassock, not altogether fresh or clean in appearance, having on the right side where there was a slit for entrance to the pocket in which he evidently carried a snuff-box, signs of frequent use of the pocket. Our purser bearing the bladder of snuff in his hands first approached the Pope, and good Catholic as he was fell upon his knees before the leader of his Church and bowed his head to kiss the cross on the Pope's slipper. This ceremony was not exacted from the rest of us, but the right hand of the Pope bearing his signet ring was extended and we were expected to bow our heads as we passed and go through a nominal osculatory process. With this was ended our interview with the good-natured, well-rounded, essentially-Italian gentleman who, even in flight, retained his position as the head of the Roman Catholic Church. The offering of snuff which the purser bore to the Pope was a supply of Maccoboy which the Pope gladly received knowing well its rarity and its excellence."

On returning to America young Davis decided that he had had enough of naval life. He had enjoyed it, especially the opportunity it gave for visiting strange places and people, but the long stretches of monotony and the tedium of its routine evidently palled upon his active and inquiring nature. So he resolved to make the land and not the sea the field of his life work. Accordingly, he enrolled at the Lawrence Scientific

School of Harvard and took up the branch of engineering. He received the degree of S.B. in 1854, and in the following year he worked temporarily on the Lexington and Big Sandy Railroad. As a volunteer he was also in Wisconsin. In 1856 he received an appointment as a civil engineer on the Mobile and Ohio road, with headquarters at Rienzi, Mississippi. He has left an interesting account of his life in Mississippi and Georgia before the Civil War, amid conditions which have long since passed away.

On his return to Worcester he read law and was admitted to the Bar in 1859. Trouble with his eyesight delayed him for a while. On October 23, 1862, he married Miss Henrietta Parker Whitney, of a family long established in Worcester County, from which sprang Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton gin. Removing to New York City, Mr. Davis took up law in the office of his oldest brother, John C. B. Davis (Harvard, 1840), who was counsel for the Erie Railroad Company. Through his influence, Andrew was subsequently employed as General Freight Agent of the Erie Railroad, and, with his usual energy, he reorganized the Department and is said to have made the first freight schedule used in the United States. But the Erie Railroad fell into the hands of Jay Gould and Jim Fiske, Jr., whose methods did not satisfy his standards of probity, and he retired from the Erie. A short period of uncertainty followed for Mr. Davis, who pursued his legal work, and then he was drawn to California, where he went with his family in 1871.

His brother Horace (Harvard, 1849) was a member of a flour milling firm, which Andrew joined, and for more than ten years he adapted himself to the profession of manufacturer with success. He was not content with money-making alone, however, but devoted himself to civic work; was President of the Board of Education in San Francisco, and, on one of the occasions when the hoodlums of the city disturbed public safety, he enlisted with other reputable citizens and formed a committee to patrol and put down lawlessness. In 1882, he came East for educational advantages for his family, and settled in Cambridge. He intended, at first, to spend only a year there, but the state of Mrs. Davis's health, and a crisis in his business in San Francisco, led to his staying permanently in Cambridge. Until 1885, however, he returned several

times to San Francisco, to close up his business affairs. In 1888 he built the residence at No. 10 Appleton Street, which was Mr. Davis's home for the rest of his life.

Henceforth, Mr. Davis gave up active business, except for a while when he was Vice-President of the Prudential Fire Insurance Company. He engaged in antiquarian pursuits, for which he showed a remarkable aptitude, and, during the next quarter of a century he contributed many papers and studies to learned societies. In an autobiographic fragment he wrote an account, which I quote, of the way in which he was led into this work.

In 1882, I was temporarily boarding with my family on Divinity Avenue, and one day I met, near my temporary residence, Col. T. W. Higginson. He said to me, "You are having a vacation now and have nothing especial to occupy your time. You are a fellow-member of the Antiquarian Society and ought to avail yourself of this opportunity to prepare a paper to be read before the Society. Come with me and I will introduce you to a gentleman who will give you a subject for your paper and will set you at work." With that he led me to the Peabody Museum, where in the far-off corner of a large room in the third story, Lucien Carr, to whom he introduced me, was at work. Mr. Carr was at that time an assistant curator of the Museum, and was engaged upon his paper on the Mound Builders, a paper which was published by the Kentucky Geological Survey and which brought him not only world-wide reputation but also honorary membership in numerous literary societies in Europe. His official connection with the Museum permitted him to take out from the library such books as he might wish to use and to keep them so long as the exigencies of his research required. His special interest was our native races, and in making his study of the Mound Builders he had collected and had on hand at that time a great number of books treating in one way or another of our Indians.

Mr. Carr received us with great cordiality and when told the object of our mission, not only suggested several subjects, which he thought worthy of special research, but also invited me to make my headquarters in his room, where he would have a table placed and where I could have access to the books which he had from the library, among which were a number which I should certainly wish to examine if I should conclude to investigate any of the subjects suggested by him.

Among the subjects thus suggested was The Journey of Moncacht-Apé. This for various reasons was attractive and it did not take long for me to decide that I would take a preliminary survey of the field covered by a research as to the probability of the story, before finally committing myself to the work. A brief investigation satisfied me that Mr. Carr had furnished me with a topic full of interest, containing several recondite points which if they could not be positively settled, might nevertheless be so far elucidated as to make their decision at any rate probable. I therefore accepted his invitation to join forces with him at the Museum and avail myself of the books bearing upon the topic which he had taken from the library and of which he then retained possession. Mr. Carr's hospitality did not end with thus furnishing a topic, a place for work and some of the books, an examination of which was essential. It was his custom to note in a commonplace book the references to the various subjects connected with Indian life, in which he was specially interested. Among these points was the possibility of intercommunication between tribes separated from each other by long distances. It was obvious that for Moncacht-Apé to go on the one hand to Niagara and the Bay of Fundy, and on the other to cross the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, a considerable amount of freedom was required for the passage through the numerous tribes occupying the intervening territory, and on this subject he had collected some references, which he placed at my command.

The generosity of Mr. Carr in thus furnishing me a subject, in indicating the sources to be investigated, in furnishing access to a portion of these authorities and in pointing out a method of investigation was fully appreciated by me, and doubtless was of distinct value in the research which then followed. I was soon, however, obliged to transfer my work to the stack, where were to be found the greater part of the volumes to be consulted and where I very soon ran down the two endings of the story, the one given by Le Page — the other by Dumont. The question of motive for these differences lay in abeyance until one day Mr. Winsor, in passing said to me, "Have you looked at that book?" pointing to one in a portion of the stack which was devoted to volumes not likely to be examined by me in a topical research on a subject connected with the native races. Upon examination of this book I found evidences of a partisan controversy between Le Page and Dumont, which would furnish the controversialists with a possible motive for misrepresentation and perhaps for falsification.

The paper on the Journey of Moncacht-Apé was read before the Antiquarian Society at the April meeting, 1883, and was doubtless the cause for Mr. Winsor's asking me to write the chapter on Canada

and Louisiana, which was published in the fifth volume of the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, and was followed at a later date by the chapter on "The Indians and Border Warfare in the Revolution," in the same work.

I take this mongraph on the travels of Moncacht-Apé as the starting point of my research work, notwithstanding the fact that I had already published several papers in San Francisco, because from that time forward, my work was almost exclusively in the field of American history and was mainly devoted to topical research in Massachusetts. An immediate outcome of the Moncacht-Apé paper was a paper on Indian Games, the notes upon which the same was based, having been taken while making the study of the volumes necessarily examined while covering the ground for that paper.

A paper entitled "The Historical Study of Law's System" was an outcome of the chapter on "Canada and Louisiana." I was much interested in the settlement work undertaken by Law's company in Louisiana and was led to make an investigation of the formation of the Company. This investigation ultimately comprehended the financial and economic features of Law's scheme, and a description of the formation of the Company was included in this chapter, which was undoubtedly disproportionately large for the touch of the Law Company with Louisiana affairs. The attention of Professor Dunbar was called to it while it was still in proof, and he said to me: "To write that account involved a good deal of study. You ought to take advantage of it and write a fuller account for the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*." As I was deeply interested in the subject I accepted the proposition.

The Chapter in the *Narrative and Critical History of America* entitled Border Warfare in the Revolution was printed in 1888, and I had then been living in Cambridge about three years. The investigation demanded for that paper took me a good deal of the time to the Library, and I met Mr. Winsor frequently. He called my attention one day to some Dunster papers which the College had recently received, from which I extracted some subjects for communications to the Antiquarian Society and the examination of which led to an examination on my part of the early books of records of Harvard College. President Eliot, who knew what I was then doing, said to me one day, "I wish you would find out where the first college building stood." Although I never made any specific effort to settle that question, I was able to point out the entry in the 1654 Inventory which approximately denotes that spot, and found material for several papers on the early college buildings and on the records.

While engaged in this work I occasionally met Professor Dunbar. One day he asked me if I had run across any papers relating to the Land Bank of 1740. At that time I had never heard of it. He said it was alluded to and briefly described in a history of Abington and that he thought that there were a good many papers in the Massachusetts Archives relating to the subject. Following up this suggestion I looked in the Archives and found a wealth of material on the subject. As I was deeply interested in it, I at once set to work examining the papers. In 1895 I submitted a paper entitled "Provincial Banks, Land and Silver," to the Colonial Society, in which the Land Bank was described, together with the means taken by its opponents to prevent it from succeeding.

The study of the currency then in use, the familiarity with measures of value based upon the ounce of silver, and the inflation of values caused by redundant government issues of bills of public credit, brought me to an appreciation of the fact that I was probably competent to write an account of the currency emissions and the so-called banking experiments of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in the eighteenth century and I began that work. When it was completed I submitted it to Professor Dunbar. He kept it for many weeks and I concluded that he was bored by it, but when I asked him if he was through with it he said, "No!" When he did return it, he merely said "I congratulate you!" I found on looking the manuscript over a query as to whether one of my reference notes at the bottom of the page was not wrong. I looked it up and found that the correction suggested by him was needed. Hence I concluded that his examination had indeed been thorough.

It is interesting to note that all the persons mentioned by Mr. Davis — Colonel T. W. Higginson, Lucien Carr, Justin Winsor, Charles F. Dunbar, and President Eliot — were members of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Mr. Davis not only contributed several papers to its *Proceedings*, but was a frequent and animated participator in its discussions. He held very firm opinions and he was never backward or timid in expressing or defending them. Some persons may have thought him brusque, but one who knew him well perceived that a kindly nature lay behind his combative manner, and that his desire to be fair was uppermost. Mr. Davis was a most attentive host, and until his last years he entered with zest into the social life of Cambridge, and seemed not to lose interest in either public or local concerns. His wife died in the summer of 1900. They

had four children, all of whom survived him: Bancroft Gherardi (Harvard, 1885); Horace Andrew (Harvard, 1891); Eleanor Whitney (Mrs. Charles Robert Sanger), and Frederica King (Mrs. Thomas Russell Watson (Harvard, 1873).) Mr. Davis, his sons, and his sons-in-law were all Harvard graduates.

After Mrs. Davis's death Mr. Davis spent five summers in Europe with his eldest daughter, and he kept up his antiquarian researches until almost the end of his life. Among the subjects which interested him was Chinese bank-notes, on which he wrote a monograph. Physical infirmity overtook him about 1917, but he remained a keen and vigorous talker to the end. He died in Cambridge, March 29, 1920, three months after his eighty-sixth birthday. Since 1906, when he built a cottage at York Harbor, Maine, he passed his summers at that resort, and greatly enjoyed the genial companionship which he found there.

Mr. Davis was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1898. He was a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; a member of the American Antiquarian Society; a founder of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, and of the Cambridge Society. To the journals of all these Societies he contributed papers. He published several monographs and books, viz. *Currency and Banking in the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, 1900; *Facts Relating to the Currency of Massachusetts Bay*, 1902; *The Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate*, 1903; *Colonial Currency Reprints*, in four volumes (Prince Society); *The Origin of the National Banking System*, 1910; and *Certain Old Chinese Notes or Chinese Paper Money*, 1915.

MARCH MEETING, 1921.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the second Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Dr. Shattuck and Dr. George Brune Shattuck, the collections of papers of Caleb Davis (1738–1897), a merchant of Boston, and of the Shattuck family of Boston, the two covering the years 1684–1912, bound in fifty-one volumes.

From Miss Edith and Henry Hersey Andrew, additional papers of their father, Gov. John A. Andrew, and printed material including a volume of his messages, a scrap-book containing many issues of the Loyal Publication Society, nine of his proclamations, 1861–1865, on satin, and also several broadsides.

From Mrs. Mary Baury (Jackson) Rathbone, the notes kept by Hugh Hall (1693–1773; H. C. 1713) of Sermons preached by Ministers in Boston from February 3 to March 13, 1708–9.

From Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, a letter written by Dr. Jacob Bigelow to his father, Rev. Jacob Bigelow at Sudbury, dated at Worcester, April 16, 1807, with a drawing by the writer.

From Mrs. Frederick Jennings Parsons (Ethel Stoddard), of Brookline, on deposit, a number of manuscripts, 1679–1886, relating to Northampton and the Stoddard family, including commissions to Col. John Stoddard, Dec. 10, 1728, by Gov. William Burnet, to Capt. Solomon Stoddard, January 13, 1773, by Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, and a letter of Jonathan Edwards, May 2, 1738, and pamphlets from the library of her father, Rev. Charles Augustus Stoddard (1833–1920).

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, several books to be added to the Kingsmill Marrs Collection, including two rare volumes illustrated by Kate Greenaway, and a book of photographs, in fine Florentine binding, of some works of the old masters.

From Mr. Charles William Jenks, of Bedford, the Journal of Jeremiah Fitch of his visit to Saratoga Springs, New York, in 1820, and the Journal of Samuel Jenks in the campaign of 1760, both of which have already been printed in the Society's *Proceedings*.

From George L. Shepley, of Providence, R. I., a photostat copy of an insurance policy issued to Arthur Fenner, of that place, on the brigantine *Providence*, June 4, 1745.

From Miss Elizabeth S. Jones, of Philadelphia, the pay-roll of the Brig *Sally*, Salisbury Blackmer, Master, September 6, 1806.

By purchase, a collection of papers of Samuel Phillips of Andover, 1704–1858, relating to affairs at Harvard College, to the American Revolution, to the making of gunpowder by Mr. Phillips at Andover, and to political affairs in the early years of the United States government. It contains a number of letters of Caleb Strong and Benjamin Goodhue; and one from George Cabot in behalf of George Washington as to the admission of the sons of his nephew Col. Bushrod Washington, to Phillips Academy.

By purchase, a volume containing some correspondence of the Brooks family of Boston and Medford, 1757–1861, including several letters of Peter C. Brooks (1767–1849), a merchant and ship-master of Boston, 1791–1848, and others of the families of the brothers and sisters of Mrs. Brooks, children of Rev. John Brown of Haverhill.

From the Republican Institution in the Town of Boston, founded in 1819 in support of the government, on deposit, the record-book of the Directors, 1819–1838, and the record-book of the Society, 1819–1887, also a scrap-book kept by the Society.

From Mrs. Alice Parkman Carter, of New York, by deposit two trunks of papers of the Isaac Smith family.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Susan J. Crane, of Hartford, Connecticut, a cane made from the *Kearsarge* while undergoing repairs at the Charlestown Navy Yard and given by Augustine Milton Gay (1827–1876), Head Master of the Boston Latin School, to Francis H. Underwood (1825–1894).

From Mr. Samuel Loring Ayres, of Dedham, a Confederate flag taken at the surrender of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863, by his father, Samuel Loring Percival Ayres, then serving in the Engineer Corps as second assistant Engineer on the Steam Sloop *Pensacola*, and ranking later Rear-Admiral.

From Miss Edith Andrew and Henry Hersey Andrew, in addition to their former gifts from the collection of their father, Gov. John A. Andrew, a collection of photographs and engravings, and two daguerreotypes of slave children.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a Roman coin commemorating the victory over the Parthians.

From Mr. Joseph DeCamp, a colored lithograph of the Coliseum, printed by the New England Lithograph Company in 1869.

From Grenville H. Norcross, three photographs: view of Cornhill from Washington Street, from a drawing by Dr. Hunt, lithographed by Pendleton; view of Tremont Street, looking north, showing the Scollay building, and another of Court Square and the Tudor building, both from the original photographs in the Bostonian Society.

From Horatio G. Curtis, a bronze medal, of Washington, by C. C. Wright, the obverse showing the Signing of the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776; and medal in terra cotta of Franklin, by Nini, 1777.

From Major Frank Harrison Briggs, a cane made from the *Kearsarge* while undergoing repairs at the Navy Yard, San Francisco; a seaman's citizenship paper of Thomas Briggs, October 29, 1812, and box containing it; a cartridge-box and belt used in the French and Indian Wars; a photograph of Martha Washington, framed in wood from her clavichord; and a knapsack said to have been used by Josiah Winslow of Boston.

From Baldwin Coolidge, a number of photographic views in Boston.

From William Farley Brewster, of Chicago, a photograph of William Brewster, one of the early merchants of that city.

From Mrs. Henry L. Higginson, a photograph of the battle-ground at Gettysburg, September 17, 1862.

From Mrs. F. C. Shattuck, a political broadside in the form of a stock certificate issued in the Blaine-Cleveland campaign of 1884.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from George Gregerson Wolkins, of Newton, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

A letter from the Trustees of the Humane Society of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was read giving notice of a subscription toward the building of this Society of $5,000, on condition that an alcove in the proposed new building be reserved for the preservation of documents and exhibits belonging to the Humane Society. It was voted that the Society accepts with gratitude the gift on the condition proposed.

Thomas Goddard Frothingham, of Boston, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

The Vice-President announced the appointment by the President of the following Committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

MHS

Caleb Davis

From a miniature in the possession of Dr. George Brune Shattuck

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. FREDERICK CHEEVER SHATTUCK, ENDICOTT PEABODY SALTONSTALL, and FRED NORRIS ROBINSON.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: Messrs. HAROLD CLARENCE ERNST, ROBERT MEANS LAWRENCE, and FITZ-HENRY SMITH, JR.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts: Messrs. HENRY HERBERT EDES and CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH.

Mr. STANWOOD presented and described three letters by the historians Prescott, Motley, and Parkman, a part of the collection of letters addressed to Francis Henry Underwood.

Dr. SHATTUCK read a paper on

CALEB DAVIS AND HIS FUNERAL DINNER.

Before inviting you to Caleb Davis's funeral, I will tell you something of who and what manner of man he was.

Caleb Davis was born in Woodstock, Connecticut, in 1738. He was descended from William Davis, who was born in England about 1617, was in Roxbury in 1642, and was received in full communion with the Roxbury Church in 1673, thus acquiring the right to vote. The family stayed in Roxbury, marrying and dying as is usual with mankind.

Joshua Davis, father of Caleb, married Sarah Pierpont in 1731, and soon after moved to Woodstock, Connecticut, originally settled by Roxbury folk. At Woodstock he seems to have been an innkeeper. In 1748 he returned to Roxbury, his son Caleb being then ten years old. Caleb, presumably, had the usual education and did not go to college. We know that in 1759 he was a partner with his uncle, Robert Pierpont, in a retail provision and grocery business, soon after setting up a store of his own on Orange, now Washington, Street, near Dover. Considerable purchases of rum from Thomas Amory and others are noted. Still later, during part of and after the Revolution, he was a merchant and ship owner in the coastwise, West India, and European trade. After his marriage to my great grandmother, Eleanor Cheever, he was active in the management of a sugar refinery which the Cheevers had owned and carried on for at least fifty years. William Downes Cheever, father-in-law of Caleb Davis, about 1760 calls it the sugar

baking business. In the Directory for 1796 Davis appears as sugar *refiner*.

He was a deacon of the Hollis Street Church for twenty-eight years, doing his full share of the work of the church, and dying in office. It can safely be said of him that he was diligent in the business of serving the Lord.

His public and political activities were incessant, varied, many. Enumeration of them all in detail would be as wearisome as profitless. I ask your indulgence to summarize them, and bring out some points which may be of interest, even to those who are not his descendants.

He was one of the Sons of Liberty, and was among those who dined at the Liberty Tree in Dorchester, August 14, 1769. His brother Robert was one of the tea destroyers. Brother Amasa was Quartermaster General for forty years. Brother Joshua, a master mariner, was Colonel in the Revolution. In 1772–3 Caleb was one of the Boston Committee of Correspondence which was a foundation stone of the subsequent Union of the Colonies, and comprised the leading Liberals of the day. In 1776 he was one of the Boston Committee of Inspection, Correspondence, and Safety. Some months later he was disqualified for further service on this committee by his election to represent Suffolk County in the General Court. He served as Representative from 1776 to '81, and in October '80 was elected Speaker. This was the first session after the adoption of the State Constitution. In May '81 he resigned on account of his many public avocations. In the election of '79 to '80 he and John Hancock each received the highest number of votes, 431.

In 1779, under the General Confiscation Act, he was Chairman of a committee of three to direct immediate sale of certain absentees' estates, namely, those of Governor Hutchinson, Sir Francis Bernard, Sir William Pepperrell, Joshua Loring, and Nathaniel Hatch.

In 1783 he was again elected to the General Court, both Representative and Senator, but preferred the former seat. He was re-elected annually, and in 1788 resigned. From February '81 to January '83 he was State Agent. The adoption of the State Constitution transferred to the Governor many of the duties which had belonged to the Board of War. This

Board was therefore abolished, but allowed some months to settle up its affairs, as far as was possible in the time. I have found that there are those learned in antiquity who are ignorant of the meaning of "Agent of the State of Massachusetts," and on the mere chance that there may be a few of the benighted here present, I quote the Resolve passed February 8, 1781:

Resolve for Discontinuing the Board of War and directing a Settlement of their accounts, and appointing Caleb Davis, Esq. Agent to transact the Business of this Commonwealth.

Whereas a great part of the business which has been transacted by the Board of War is now by the Constitution put into the hands of the supreme executive, by reason whereof it is unnecessary to continue the Board of War for the purposes originally intended:

Therefore *Resolved:* That the Board of War, constituted and appointed by this State be and they hereby are directed, to make no more purchases or contracts in behalf of this government, but that said Board be so far continued that any three of the members, as they shall agree, with two of their clerks, *remain* in office, the whole number of said Board however to be responsible for the settlement of their accounts, *until* the next Session of the General Court, for the purposes of adjusting the accounts between them and individuals, and for the payment thereof, so far as the warrants now drawn on the treasury in their favor will admit, and also for posting their books and settling their accounts with the government of this Commonwealth, and for the delivery of the public articles in their hands as hereafter mentioned. The Board to deliver all clothing in their hands to Ebenezer Wales, Esq. and Capt. Amasa Davis, and all other goods, wares, merchandise and things whatsoever in their hands, belonging to the Commonwealth, to Richard Devens, Esq., Commissary-General of this Commonwealth.

Resolved; That *Caleb Davis, Esq.* be and he is hereby appointed Agent in behalf of this Government, to receive all goods, wares and merchandise whatsoever, which may arrive in any port of the United States consigned to said Board of War, and to dispose thereof as the government of this Commonwealth shall order.

Resolved: That the said *Caleb Davis, Esq.* be and he is hereby appointed, authorized and empowered as Agent in behalf of this Commonwealth to receive this State's proportion of all prizes that may be captured and sent into any port of the United States, and to do and transact all business necessary for the condemnation

thereof, and to dispose of the same as the government of this Commonwealth shall direct; and the said *Caleb Davis, Esq.* is hereby authorized and empowered to sue and prosecute to final judgment and execution any person or persons indebted to the Board of War in their said capacity, and to appear and defend any suits brought against said Board of War in their capacity. The said Agent to be accountable to the General Court for his conduct and lay his accounts before them when required and shall receive such consideration for his services as the General Court shall determine.[1] And the Agent for transacting the business aforesaid is hereafter to be chosen annually at the same time and in the same manner as other civil officers of the Government.

He was one of the Boston members of the Constitutional Convention of 1788, and in reply to the question why there was to be a Federal Town over which the Congress was to exercise exclusive jurisdiction said: "Would Massachusetts or any other State, wish to give New York, or the State in which Congress shall sit, the power to influence the proceedings of that body which was to act for the benefit of the whole, by leaving them liable to the outrages of the citizens of such States?"

He was Presidential Elector for Suffolk in 1789, the first Presidential election. He was Chairman of a committee of three, the other members being William Eustis and Stephen Higginson, to consider and report on the best way to express the respects of the town to President Washington on his proposed visit; and a member of the Boston Committee of thirteen to arrange the program for the proposed visit of General Washington. I have passed over many minor appointments in State service, and pass over entirely his Town offices and services.

He served on the first Board of Directors of the Boston Branch of the United States Bank in 1792, and the same year was an incorporator of the Union Bank. On his business interests and career I shall not further touch here.

He was thrice married: first to Hannah Ruggles, daughter of Samuel A., Selectman of Boston, Master Builder and the Constructor in 1742 of Faneuil Hall. From a daughter of this

[1] As State Agent Caleb Davis, Esq., was allowed a commission of 5 per cent on all outfits of vessels and 1½ per cent on all prizes and prize goods.

marriage were descended the late Nathaniel J. and Rev. Caleb Davis Bradlee.

He was a widower about ten years and re-embarking on the matrimonial sea in 1783, married at Groton Mrs. Mary Ann (Lewis) Bant. There is a family tradition that he was encouraged to make this marriage by John Hancock, who was a chief creditor of William Bant's unsettled estate. Under the then laws one who married a widow became liable for the unsettled debts of the previous husband. This is a fact, and a further fact is that in April, 1784, Caleb Davis settled in full by paying Hancock £1176–5–4. The receipt is signed by William Haskins, Attorney for Governor Hancock.

A family tradition has it that Davis, not unnaturally indignant if not revengeful, although a church deacon, performed the easy task of getting some of the Governor's papers, and had him arrested in his carriage for debt. Tradition further says that the Legislature thereupon passed an act exempting the Governor from arrest for that cause. In support of these traditions I have been unable to get recorded evidence. There is, however, evidence that about this time the feelings of Davis toward Hancock, with whom he had been closely associated for many years in public affairs, underwent a change. Davis unsuccessfully opposed Hancock's election as Governor in 1789.

Davis's Bant wife died in January, 1787, and in the following September, this time after a widowerhood of only about seven months, he married Eleanor, daughter of William Downes Cheever. Their daughter, Eliza Cheever Davis, married Dr. George C. Shattuck in 1811.

To sum up his career, Caleb Davis seems to have been a capable, public-spirited citizen. He early espoused the popular cause, and was active and prominent therein, perhaps partly because he was young, partly because he had no great riches to halt his footsteps toward freedom, partly, perhaps, from temperament. He seems to have been one of the Georges of his time. His answer to "Let George do it" was to do it. Here I recall a saying of my late father-in-law, Colonel Henry Lee, a devoted member of our Society, apropos of those who are ever ready to undertake labors for others, however arduous or even boresome. There are always those who are ready to qualify any praise accorded such folk with an "Oh, but he likes it!" This, Mr. Lee thought, was adding insult to injury.

Caleb Davis died July 6, 1797, in his house on Common Street, now Tremont, opposite the Wilbur Theatre, and was buried in a tomb on the Common. His funeral dinner was held in his house. The bill of expenses has come down. I don't suppose that the entertainment differed in any essential from that customary at the time in the case of any fairly well-to-do and prominent citizen. How many such itemized bills are extant I do not know, and therefore I dwell upon it as illustrating the manners of the times and raising several curious questions, some of which diligent effort on my part has failed to answer.

Let me now invite you to a funeral dinner, a Barmecidal feast, indeed, for us; not so for those there present in the flesh. The itemized bill was as follows:

Expenses on the Dinner given on the Day of Mr. Davis's Funeral.[1]

Beef		254.
Fowls		680.
Fish & Oisters		122.
Green Peas, Onions &[a]		116.
Lemons & Seville Oranges		12.
25 lb. Potatoes		29.3½
4 Jars French Cocumbers	10v[s]	40.
5 Jars French Oil		75.
6 lb. French Bacon	9 v[s]	54.
8 lb. Spanish Bacon	5½ v[s]	44.
3 Hams with 21½ lb.	9½ v[s]	204.
25 lb. Flour		36.
12 lb. Sugar	5 v[s]	60.
150 Eggs		45.
A Fish's tail		30.
12 lb. Apples	2½ v[s]	30.
2 Dozen Oranges	3 v[s]	6.
Cinnamon		23.
Paper & Thread		19.
Anchovies & Capers		15.
2 lb. Tallow Candles		7.4
2 lb. Sweetmeats for Cakes	5 v[s]	10.
9 Pints Milk		22.

[1] Professor Merriman tells me that the currency used appears to be the Spanish real vellon, never current as a coin but used only in accounts. Its normal value is a quarter of a peseta.

Salt & Coals		
45 lb. Butter	40 v^{s}	211.6
2 lb. Hogs Lard	7½ v^{s}	15.
Oil		32.
Bread for the Kitchen		23.
For the Hireing of the Copper &^{a}		300.
3 Cooks and 4 Serv^{ts}		1060.
Fruit		94.
Cheese		21.
Raisins		10.
Fruit preserved in Brandy		64.
Biscuits		145.
Different Kinds of Sweetmeats		521.
3 Bottles Liquor	50 v^{s}	150.
Caffee and Milk		122.
7¾ lb. Superfine Sugar	7 v^{s}	53.4
6 lb. Sirop	5½	33.
6 Bottles Rum	20 v^{s}	120.
24 Pajarete Wine	9 v^{s}	216.
18 Bottles Malaga	9	162.
30 Bottles Sherry	7 v^{s}	210.
36 Ditto Bourdeaux	13 v^{s}	468.
6 Bottles Peralta	15 v^{s}	90.
2 Ditto Frontignanc	12 v^{s}	24.
4 @ Red Wine	26 v^{s}	104.
2 @ White Wine	38 v^{s}	76.
42 Bottles Beer	8 v^{s}	336.
Gin & Brandy		47.
For the hiring of the Tablecloth & Napkins & 6 Napkins want^{d}		250.
For ditto of the ware and the rest of the Service at Table		200.
6 Dozen chairs		108.
Porterage of the different things		310.
A Coach		120.
10 Servants to attend at Table		300.
	R v^{l}on	8.118.4.½
For the Trouble of the Man that made the dinner		300.
	R v^{l}on	8.418.4.½
	Hard Doll^{s}.	420.18

Amount of Mr. Schondals account of expences as enclosed	239. – –
To the Man & Woman that assisted Mr. Davis before & after his death	16. – –
To Bed Cloaths & other necessary things which ware sent to the Hospital by orders of the Justice	75. – –
To the Doctors & meetings	24. – –
Coffin	16. – –
Apotecary's acc^{t} hand Chair, Boathire & present to health office	21.10.
To the Cap^{n} of the Keys of the land gate	16. – –
To present to the Governors Secretary	16. – –
Hard Dol^{s}	844.8

This was a substantial dinner. Note beef, fowls, hams, bacon, fish, and oysters. It was apparently a sit-down affair. Note the hiring of six dozen chairs. Three dozen chairs suitable for a dining table would seem a generous allowance to the house. Thus seats may have been provided for something over one hundred persons. Women at that time did not go to funerals, and would n't be expected at such a function. The dinner was wet as well as substantial. The list of alcoholics foots up one hundred and twenty-two bottles of various wines, mostly of the stronger kinds, nine bottles of rum and liquor, and an unknown but probably small quantity, judging from the price, of gin and brandy, and forty-two bottles of beer. There was also fruit preserved in brandy. These were bought specially for this mournful occasion. It is reasonable to suppose that Davis was not exceptional, that he had a wine cellar which was not empty, at least, before this funeral dinner. Whether and how far his private stock was drawn upon to eke out the purchased supply we have now no means of knowing. All sources of information have vanished with the volatile beverages. Assuming the probable maximum, a hundred and ten guests, one for each chair and two to sit on the stairs, well over a bottle of wine apiece was allowed. Then there were nine bottles of spirits and forty-two bottles of beer, and the house supply(?). Probably the arduous labors of the servants were not unrecognized. Three cooks, four servants and ten more "to

attend table" are charged. Cider, which was laid in by the many barrelsful by every self-respecting householder, and to which all, master and servants alike, had free access at all times until a number of years later than this, was not probably in stock in July. Moreover, it is to be remembered that in those idyllic days the quart wine bottle held thirty-two ounces, though it has shrunk in our degenerate time to twenty-four. If grief for the departed and apparent alcoholic capacity stood in a direct ratio, great indeed was the grief.

Several other items in the bill seem worthy of comment.

I. "To Bed, Cloaths & other necessary things which were sent to the Hospital by orders of the Justice." Why did the Justice order these articles sent to the Hospital? What hospital and where was it? Davis died at his own house. There is no reason to think that his illness was of a nature then considered contagious. Had it been such, articles so liable to carry contagion would probably have been destroyed. Small-pox is the only contagious malady which a family man of fifty-eight would be likely to contract. Inoculation had been in common use for many years. Whether Davis was ever inoculated is not recorded, but had he died of small-pox, is it likely that the fact would not have been mentioned in obituary notices? Or is it likely that such a funeral dinner would have been held in a pestilential house?

II. "Apotecary's acc't hand Chair, Boathire & present to health office." Boat hire! What part did a boat play in the funeral of a man who died on Tremont Street and was buried nearby on the Common? Both sites were on natural land without intervening water. Only one coach is charged, no hearse; but the distance was short from house to grave, and a man of Davis's standing in Church and State might easily be carried by pall bearers. Possibly the boat hire stands in some relation to the articles ordered by the Justice sent to the Hospital. If the Hospital was on one of the Islands, such as Rainsford, a boat would of course be needed to transport the articles.[1]

III. And now for a nut the shell of which has thus far proved quite uncrackable. "To the Cap'n of the Keys of the

[1] Mr. Lawrence Brainerd tells me that the Rainsford Island Hospital had been given up in 1797, and that the Hospital and Pest House were at the corner of West Cedar Street, not far from where the jail is at present.

land gate." It would seem possible that it might be connected in some way with the item "Boat hire." No one has thus far been able to shed the least light on this item. What was the land gate? Where was it? Why was it kept locked? Why did it require a captain to keep its keys? He was paid sixteen hard dollars, no inconsiderable sum in those days, the same sum that was charged for a coffin and also as a present to the Governor's Secretary. Incidentally, why a present of sixteen hard dollars to this functionary? Doctors George Ellis and Sam Green, Messrs. Ford, Albert Matthews, and Lawrence Brainerd all give it up. Is there no one to help me in this, my extremity? Must I totter to my grave carrying this heavy burden of ignorance?

Finally, the bill is reckoned in two currencies. The cost of the dinner adds up 8.418. $4\frac{1}{2}$ R v^{l}on. This sum of eight thousand odd something is reduced to hard dollars, 420 and 18 cents of them, that is to say, a ratio of about 20 to 1. Other expenses bring the sum total of the cost of the illness and funeral to $844. 8/. This sum to-day would be equal to somewhere from five to ten thousand dollars. It cost high to die in those days. It costs high to live now; proportionally to those times, higher, I should judge, than to die. If I am right, it is economy to the individual to-day to die. There were no death duties then; I understand that there are now, but death duties don't trouble the corpse.

Mr. C. N. GREENOUGH spoke on

THE "CHARACTER" AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION FOR THE HISTORIAN.

What is the "character"? How did it develop in England? What material does it offer to the historian? Where can this material be found? Are there any special precautions to be employed in using it? These are questions which, if fully answered, would necessitate a book; but perhaps brief suggestions will be better than nothing.

The character is a special type of essay much resorted to by English writers of the seventeenth century and by no means uncommon in later times. It may best be defined by quoting a contemporary definition and adding an example. The

definition is that given by an English schoolmaster named Ralph Johnson, and is taken from a text-book called *The Scholars Guide from the Accidence to the University*, London, 1665. Johnson gives not only the definition of a character, but also three rules for making characters. The definition and rules are these:

A character is a witty and facetious description of the nature and qualities of some person, or sort of people.

1. Chuse a Subject, viz. such a sort of men as will admit of variety of observation, such be, drunkards, usurers, lyars, taylors, excisemen, travellers, pedlars, merchants, tapsters, lawyers, an upstart gentleman, a young Justice, a Constable, an Alderman, and the like.

2. Express their natures, qualities, conditions, practices, tools, desires, aims, or ends, by witty Allegories, or Allusions, to things or terms in nature, or art, of like nature and resemblance, still striving for wit and pleasantness, together with tart nipping jerks about their vices or miscarriages.

3. Conclude with some witty and neat passage, leaving them to the effect of their follies or studies.[1]

From this definition it is clear that the character is a sort of composite photograph which, although it lacks the vividness of individual portraiture, has a certain generic significance that does not attach to portraits of individuals. The examination of a large number of seventeenth-century English characters shows:

(1) that, in spite of Johnson's definition, many English writers discriminated between the delineation of an individual and the delineation of a class of persons: the former, they called the "portrait"; the latter, the "character";

(2) that the character may be written about an inanimate object, such as a tavern, a prison,[2] or a tennis-court. As a

[1] Ra(lph) Johnson, *The Scholars Guide*, etc., 15.

For other definitions, see Overbury (1614) in his *Miscellaneous Works*, ed. E. F. Rimbault, London, 1856, 168–169; S. Person, *An Anatomicall Lecture of Man . . . in Essays and Characters* (1664); Richard Flecknoe, *Fifty-five Enigmatical Characters* (1665); and *Seventy-eight Characters of so many Vertuous and Vitious Persons*, 1677.

[2] The number of characters of a prison is particularly large. Dekker tried the subject in 1607; one of the Overbury group in 1614; Fennor in 1617; Mynshul in 1618; Earle in 1628; the writer of *W. Bagnal's Ghost* in 1655 and of *The Captive Captain* in 1665; Kirkman and Head, in *The English Rogue*, 1665; Head in *Proteus Redivivus*, 1675; Flecknoe in 1686; the author of *Hickelty-Pickelty* in 1708.

matter of fact, the number of such characters is extremely large, and the light thrown by them upon contemporary conditions is fairly important;[1]

(3) that though the character is usually adverse, it need not necessarily be so; perhaps one character in every four or five is favorable.

As an example to make the preceding points somewhat clearer Overbury's character (1614) of "A Puritan" will serve as well as any:

A PURITAN.

Is a diseased piece of apocalypse: bind him to the Bible, and he corrupts the whole text. Ignorance and fat feed are his founders; his nurses, railing, rabies, and round breeches. His life is but a borrowed blast of wind: for between two religions, as between two doors, he is ever whistling. Truly, whose child he is is yet unknown; for, willingly, his faith allows no father: only thus far his pedigree is found, Bragger and he flourished about a time first. His fiery zeal keeps him continually costive, which withers him into his own translation; and till he eat a schoolman he is hide-bound. He ever prays against non-residents, but is himself the greatest discontinuer, for he never keeps near his text. Anything that the law allows, but marriage and March beer, he murmurs at; what it disallows and holds dangerous, makes him a discipline. Where the gate stands open, he is ever seeking a stile; and where his learning ought to climb, he creeps through. Give him advice, you run into traditions; and urge a modest course, he cries out counsel. His greatest care is to contemn obedience; his last care to serve God handsomely and cleanly. He is now become so cross a kind of teaching, that should the Church enjoin clean shirts, he were lousy. More sense than single prayers is not his; nor more in those than still the same petitions: from which he either fears a learned faith, or doubts God understands not at first hearing. Show him a ring, he runs back like a bear; and hates square dealing as allied to caps. A pair of organs blow him out of the parish, and are the only glyster-pipes to cool him. Where the meat is best, there he confutes most, for his arguing is but the efficacy of his eating: good bits he holds breed positions, and the Pope he best concludes against in plum-broth. He is often drunk, not but as we are, temporally; nor can his sleep then cure him, for the fumes of his ambition make his very soul reel, and that small beer should

[1] Note especially Donald Lupton's *London and the Country*, etc., 1632, which contains thirty-six characters, all but nine of which are of such inanimate objects as The Tower, St. Paul's Church, Play-Houses, Newgate, and the like.

allay him (silence) keeps him more surfeited, and makes his heat break out in private houses. Women and lawyers are his best disciples; the one, next fruit, longs for forbidden doctrine, the other to maintain forbidden titles, both which he sows amongst them. Honest he dare not be, for that loves order; yet, if he can be brought to ceremony and made but master of it, he is converted.[1]

How did the character develop in England? So far as we know, the character begins with Theophrastus, a Greek writer of the period of Alexander the Great, whose thirty essays, all adverse, are almost precisely like the work of the seventeenth-century English writers.[2] There is some evidence that characters of Theophrastus have always been more or less used by rhetoricians as school exercises.[3] Besides coming into England directly from Theophrastus or by way of the rhetoricians, the character may have been built up in part as the result of a group of less formal influences, among which are the satire of estates, vagabond books, satire of fools, grobian satires, and the like.[4]

The sum of all these influences, and perhaps others, results in a very close approximation to the character from the hand of Ben Jonson in his *Cynthia's Revels* (1601).

It seems not to have been until 1608, however, that any book appeared consisting wholly of characters or containing the word "character" in its title. This was Joseph Hall's *Characters of Vertues and Vices*. From the year 1608 until about the year 1642 we have a rather distinct period of character-writing, in which scores of books appeared, containing several hundred separate characters. The great character writers of this period in addition to Bishop Hall are Sir Thomas Overbury and his friends (1614) and John Earle (1628). During this period the

[1] Henry Morley, *Character Writings of the Seventeenth Century*, 49–50.

[2] See Sir R. C. Jebb's edition (revised by J. E. Sandys) of *The Characters of Theophrastus*, London, 1909, which contains the Greek text and an English translation. For a good critical essay on the influence of Theophrastus, see G. S. Gordon, "Theophrastus and his Imitators," in *English Literature and the Classics*, a group of essays collected by G. S. Gordon, Oxford, 1912.

[3] G. S. Gordon, as cited above, 64–65.

[4] S. M. Tucker, *Verse Satire in England before the Renaissance*, New York, 1908 (Columbia doctoral dissertation); C. H. Herford, *Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge (England) University Press, 1886.

character comes nearer to literature than it did until Addison modified it to his use in 1709 and 1711. It is full of vivid side-lights on the habits, speech, costume, and manners of the period, especially the seamy side of it, and is for the historian an admirable supplement to the evidence afforded by the drama. One of the greatest dangers of the character in this period is its tendency to become flimsy through excess of attention to style; but the best of these characters, notably those by Earle, seem destined to last indefinitely as a valuable part of English literature.[1]

With the outbreak of the Civil War, the second period in the history of the character opens, and lasts roughly until 1688. In this second period the pamphlet-character rather than the essay-character is the usual thing. These pamphlet-characters are more likely to appear separately than in large collections; their style is usually less painstaking; their length, instead of being a matter of a few hundred words, as is commonly the case between 1608 and 1642, is often a half dozen or even a score of quarto pages. In their subject matter, above all, the pamphlet characters, as written from 1642 to 1688, differ from their predecessors. Instead of selecting people distinguished by foibles and commenting lightly and wittily upon them, the writer of the pamphlet character pounces upon one of the many discordant elements in church or state, such as a Bishop, an Independent, or a Fifth Monarchy Man, and summarizes the beliefs of the group thus personified in one. In other words, during this period the almost innumerable pamphlets which fly back and forth [2] include scores [3] whose writers, fully aware

[1] Others who wrote characters during this period are Nicholas Breton (*The Good and the Bad*, 1616), Geoffrey Mynshul (*Essayes and Characters of a Prison and Prisoners*, 1618), Richard Brathwait (*Essaies upon the Five Senses*, 1619), John Taylor, the "Water Poet," Henry Parrot (*Cures for the Itch, Characters, Epigrams, Epitaphs*, 1626), R. M. (*Micrologia*, 1629), Wye Saltonstall (*Picturae Loquentes*, 1631), Donald Lupton (*London and the Country carbonadoed and quartered into severall Characters*, 1632), William Habington (*Castara*, 1634).

[2] For a catalogue of this material, see the *Catalogue of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and Restoration, collected by George Thomason*, 1640–1661, 2 vols., London, 1908.

[3] A few, taken almost at random, are *Anatomy of the Separatists*, 1641; *A Description of the Round-Head and Rattlehead*, 1642; *A Right Character of a true Subject*, 1642; *Character of an Antimalignant, or Right Parliamentier; expressing plainly his Opinion concerning King and Parliament*, 1645; John Geree, *The Character of an Old English Puritan*, 1646; *Character of a Cavalier*, 1647; *Character*

of the popularity which Overbury, Earle, and their like had given to the character, borrowed that name and a few of the tricks that went with it in order to make their controversial efforts more effective. Yet, as Thomas Fuller's *Holy and Profane State* (1642) and Samuel Butler's immense collection of characters [1] may serve to remind us, such essay-characters as were the usual thing from 1608 to 1642 are by no means unknown between 1642 and 1688.

The year 1688 may conveniently form another landmark in the history of the character, because in that year there appeared at Paris the first edition of La Bruyère's *Les Caractères ou les Mœurs de ce Siècle*. La Bruyère was translated into English in 1699, and was doubtless much read by Englishmen in the original French. His influence was in the direction of vivifying the character by decreasing its length, and especially by bringing in more background and environment. Instead of isolating people like botanical specimens, La Bruyère gets his effects by considering them in motion, in conversation, and in contact with other persons. There is Theodectus, for example, who "is heard in the ante-chamber; as he comes on he raises his voice; he enters, he laughs, every body stops their ears at his vociferations." There is Hermagoras, who "knows not who is King of Hungary, and stares at naming the King of Bohemia. Speak not to him of the wars in Holland, or Flanders, or at least you must excuse him from answering the questions you ask concerning them: he knows not when they began or ended; battles and sieges are all new to him; but he is very well read in the *Giants' Wars*, he can relate them to the least circumstances; he discourses with the same fluency on the horrid convulsions of the Babylonian and Assyrian monarchies; he is acquainted with the original of the Egyptians and their

of an Agitator, 1647; *Character of a Time-serving Saint*, 1652; *The Character of France*, 1659; *A Character of England*, 1659; *A Brief Character of the Low Countries*, 1659; *The Character of Italy: or, the Italian Anatomiz'd by an English Chirurgion*, 1660; *Confused Characters of Conceited Coxcombs*, 1661; *The True Character of a Rigid Presbyter*, 1661; *Character of a Quaker*, 1671; *Poor Robin's Character of a Dutch-man*, 1672; *The Character of a Coffee-House, with the Symptoms of a Town-Wit*, 1673; *The Character of an Honest Lawyer*, 1676; *Character of a Town-Miss*, 1680.

[1] Samuel Butler, *Characters and Passages from Note-Books*, ed. A. R. Waller, Cambridge, (England), 1908. Butler wrote 187 characters.

dynasties. He never saw Versailles, or ever will; but the Tower of Babel he has seen, and counted the steps; he has found out how many architects were employed about that building, and even has their names at his fingers' ends." And there are scores of others.

Among the English works which belong in the same general category with La Bruyère, two may be mentioned — Edward Ward's *The London Spy*, 1698–1700, and Addison's and Steele's *Tatler*, 1709, and *Spectator*, 1711.

Ward's *London Spy*, a highly readable though at times indecent book, narrates a fictitious trip through the London of 1700 set down in the form of a "*Journal*, intended to expose the *Vanities* and *Vices* of the *Town*." It abounds with vivid characters, many of them pretty low down in the underworld. Yet it may be doubted whether a historian can afford to neglect such material as the following character of a "Projector," which helps one to understand what kind of people took stock in the South Sea Bubble and how some of the earlier pages in the Transactions of the Royal Society gave the wits wicked hints for exaggeration into such caricatures as this:

When we had each of us stuck in our Mouths a Pipe of *Sotweed*, we began to look about us: Do you mind (says my Friend) yonder *old Sophister* with an *Indian* Pipe between his meagre Jaws, who sits staring at the Candle with as much Stedfastness as a Country *Passenger* at *Bow-Steeple*, or a Child at a *Raree-Show?* That's a strange whimsy-headed Humorist; observe his Posture, he looks like the Picture of *Aesculapius* behind an *Apothecary's* Counter: And has as many Maggots in his Noodle, as there are Mice in an old Barn, or Nits in a *Mumper's* Doublet. He has a wonderful projecting Head, and has lately contrived one of the prettiest Pocket-Engines for the speedy blanching of *Hasle-Nuts* and *Filbert-Kernels*, that ever was invented; he'll crack and skin two for a Squirrel's one; and in a few Years, by a little Alteration, will improve it to the use of *Walnuts*. I'll asure you he's a Member of the *Royal Society*, and had as great a Hand for many Years together in bringing the *Weather-Glass* to Perfection as any of them. He puts great Faith in the *Philosophers-Stone*, and believes he shall one Time or other be as rich as *Croesus*, though he has almost beggar'd himself in the search of it; and has as large a Pair of *Bellows* in his *Laboratory*, as ever an *Alcymist* in Town. He try'd a notable Experiment the other Day, in setting Fire to a large Hay-stack he had in the Country, and

order'd the Ashes to be brought to Town, from whence he propos'd to prepare a Medicine, call'd *Sal Graminis*, which should infallibly cure all Distempers in *Horses*, and be the rarest Medicine for *Cows*, *Sheep*, or *Oxen*, and all sorts of Creatures that feed upon *Grass*, that any *Grazier* or *Farrier* can use in any Distemper. But sending it up in an ill Season, the Ashes got wet in their Carriage, and quite lost their Virtue, that he was forc'd to sell them to a West-Country *Bargeman* in order to dung Land.

The *Tatler* and the *Spectator* are also full of characters, in various stages of development,[1] most of which contribute to our knowledge of life in the period of Queen Anne. As a mere handful of portraits chosen from this immense gallery, we have the tradesman so interested in foreign politics that he cannot manage his business or support his family (*Tatler* 155); the Pedant (*Tatler* 158); The Very Minor Poet (*Tatler* 163); the Tory Country Squire (Sir Roger de Coverley) and the Whig City Merchant (Sir Andrew Freeport) (*Spectator* 2); a Younger Son (*Spectator* 108); and Tom Puzzle, whose "knowledge is sufficient to raise doubts, but not to clear them" (*Spectator* 476). It would be a bold historian who, after reading these seven bits of portraiture, could say that he knew the period sufficiently without going further among the characters to be found in these two most engaging of English periodicals.

Such delineations of character did not, however, monopolize the field: in the period after 1688 collections of essay characters survived in fair numbers,[2] and the pamphlet character survived in large numbers.[3]

Where may this material be found? There is no very full bibliography of the Character, though Professor E. C. Baldwin, in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of*

[1] This variety is of particular interest to the student of English fiction, who could hardly find a better example than the third paragraph in *Spectator* 108 of the transition from the formal character to the novel of character.

[2] *The English Theophrastus . . . being the Modern Characters of the Court, the Town, and the City*, 1692; *The Reformer, exposing the Vices of the Age, in Several Characters*, 1700; *Mars Stript of his Armour* (a collection of 24 military characters, such as a Major, a Captain, etc.) (By Edward Ward.) London, 1709; and others.

[3] *Character of a Jacobite*, 1690; *The Trimming Court Divine*, 1690; *Character of a Whig*, 1700; *An English Monster; or, the Character of an Occasional Conformist*, 1703; *The Beau's Character*, 1706; *True Picture of a Modern Whig*, 1707; *The Character of a true Churchman*, 1711; *Character of an Honest Dissenter*, 1715; and many others.

America, for June, 1904, prints a list of about one hundred and fifty characters. Professor H. V. Routh's chapters (Vol. IV, Chap. XVI, and Vol. VII, Chap. XVI) in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* add a few more. Philip Bliss, in his admirable edition of Earle's *Microcosmographie*, London, 1811, has an extremely valuable list of other character books, which list is greatly extended in a copy of Bliss's edition, enriched by Bliss's own manuscript notes, to be found in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Such well-known collections of seventeenth-century pamphlets as the *Harleian Miscellany* and the *Somers Tracts* contain many characters, and there is a useful volume compiled by Henry Morley called *Character Writings of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1891. One should of course consult the entries under the word "character" in the catalogue of the British Museum and other large libraries.

Are there any special precautions to be observed by the historian in using the character? Without question there are.

In the first place, the character confessedly exaggerates, or, as Richard Flecknoe put it in his *Fifty-Five Enigmatical Characters*, 1665, "It extols to *Heaven*, or depresses into *Hell;* having no mid-place for *Purgatory* left." In other words, the character writer follows the example of the good Bishop Joseph Hall, who, in 1608, thus introduced his well known collection of *Characters of Vertues and Vices*: "More might be said, I deny not, of euery Vertue, of euery Vice; I desired not to say all, but enough. If thou doe but read or like these, I haue spent good houres ill; but if thou shalt hence abiure those Vices, which before thou thoughtest not ill-fauored, or fall in loue with any of these goodly phases of Vertue; or shalt hence finde where thou hast any little wish of these euils, to cleare thy selfe, or where any defect in these graces to supply it, neither of us shall need to repent of our labour." Like Hall, the average character writer exaggerated each of his types in the direction of its dominant quality: he made the selfish man more selfish than he really was in order that the odiousness of his vice might be the more apparent, and also, no doubt, in order to gratify himself. For the satirist's cross-grained genius is after all a form of art. Therefore, characters have in most cases to be handled with the same caution that would have to be used in letting the drawings of Hogarth illustrate the eighteenth century. Those

drawings might very properly confirm other evidence, and even establish a strong presumption when they were unsupported; but manifestly one could not safely argue merely from Hogarth's "Election Series" that political elections in the eighteenth century were quite as corrupt and disorderly as they are there represented.

In the second place, the character, particularly between 1614 and 1640, was markedly stylistic in its traditions. Many character writers, notably Breton, Mynshul, and Lupton, were so euphuistic that a very considerable allowance must be made by the historian for their exaggerations in the interest of style. A striking instance of this is to be found in the work of Nicholas Breton, who, in the year 1616, published a collection of characters called *The Good and the Bad*. That book contained a character of "A Worthy King," which runs in part as follows:

> He is [1] the Lords anointed, [2] and therefore must not be touched, [3] and the head of a public body, [4] and therefore must be preserved. He is [1] a scourge of sin and [2] a blessing of grace, [3] God's vicegerent over His people, and [4] under Him supreme governor. [1] His safety must be his councils care, [2] his health his subjects prayer, [3] his pleasure his peers' comfort, and [4] his content his Kingdom's gladness. [1] His presence must be reverenced [2] his person attended, [3] his court adorned, and [4] his state maintained. [1] His bosom must not be searched, [2] his will not disobeyed, [3] his wants not unsupplied, nor [4] his place not unregarded.[1]

It is perfectly clear that Breton is here more or less obsessed by a mania for arranging his ideas in sets of four, and, to bring out that fact, I have taken the liberty, in printing the passage just quoted, of numbering his ideas in fours. This is an extreme instance, but by no means unique. Breton was only one of several writers who were quite capable, after saying three things that they really meant, of adding a fourth point which they did not particularly mean in order to round out the pattern. For this tendency, and for similar exaggerations in the interest of decoration, a somewhat liberal allowance must be made. It is a tendency, however, which vitiates the work of only a relatively small number of character writers, and the student can very easily tell whether or not he has to do with a

[1] See *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XIV., 213–257.

euphuist like Breton or with a writer whose style is not such as to tempt him into exaggeration.

Third, there is the fact that certain minor character writers copy from each other without the slightest scruple. By this is meant far more than that their work bears a strong resemblance to that of their predecessors. Such a resemblance is to be expected, since both, in a general way, drew from the same models, and since the later men accepted most of the conventions which the earlier men had given to the character. The sort of copying that the historian must be aware of in order to know how to interpret a character writer is perhaps best known to those who have dogged the footsteps of that extraordinary succession of minor character writers who mercilessly took toll of the excellent Bishop Earle. The purloiners in question are Louis Du Moulin (*Charactères*, 1654), Thomas Ford (*The Times Anatomiz'd in severall Characters*, 1647), J. Dymock (*Le Vice ridiculé et la vertue louée*, 1671), Samuel Vincent (*The Young Gallant's Academy*, 1674), Richard Head (*Proteus Redivivus*, 1675), the anonymous authors of *The Character of a Whig, under several Denominations*, 1700, and *Hickelty-Pickelty: or, a Medley of Characters*, 1708, and especially the notorious John Dunton, whose "Letters from New England" borrow liberally from Earle and others.[1] When he deals with these people the historian must be on his guard: he will certainly be deceived if he accepts them at their face value; yet he may be misled in a different direction if he fails to remember that what they say, though not original, may have been repeated because it was still true.

What, then, does the character offer to the historian? It enlarges his knowledge of the resorts most frequented by the fashionable London world. It throws valuable light upon the state of English prisons. It tells us a good deal about university life. It yields some exceedingly valuable generalizations about various foreign nations. And, although in the great majority of cases the character is the work of adverse critics, it occasionally, as in John Gerée's *Old English Puritan* (1646), offers a peculiarly valuable portrait from the favorable side. Speaking more generally, the character — especially between 1608 and 1642 — contains a great deal of material about costume and manner

[1] Henry Morley, *Character Writings of the Seventeenth Century*, 255.

of life in England and about all the vulnerable points of every considerable group — social, political, or religious — from James I down to the Georges. Indeed it is probably not too much to say that as a generalized representation of what the seventeenth and eighteenth century wits meant by the vices and virtues — especially the vices — characters are not less valuable than plays or novels.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. J. C. WARREN, BOLTON, FROTHINGHAM, NORCROSS, BRADFORD, and STOREY.

MEMOIR

OF

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

BY CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH.

Samuel Abbott Green, the Senior Member of the Historical Society and the last survivor of that group of men who took so large a part in the upbuilding of the Society during the last fifty years, was born in Groton, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, on March 16, 1830, and died in Boston Dec. 5, 1918. He was of the eighth generation from Percival and Ellen Green who arrived in Boston in 1635 with two servants. Percival took the Freeman's Oath in 1635–36 and died in 1639. His son John was Marshal General of the Colony. John's son, the Reverend Joseph Green, graduated from Harvard College in 1695, was settled over a church in Salem Village, and was described as a man of learning, pious, humble, prudent, faithful, and useful. His son Joseph was a Boston merchant and upheld the Colonists in their disputes with the mother country. Joseph's son Joshua was graduated from Harvard College in 1749, was also a merchant, and his only son Joshua, Harvard College, 1784, was a judge of a County Court and was deeply interested in antiquarian and historical studies. Dr. Green apparently inherited his lifelong interests in these studies from his grandfather the Judge. He also inherited his love for the practice of medicine from his father Joshua, who was graduated from Harvard College in 1818 and from the Medical School in 1821, was the first house physician in the Massachusetts General Hospital and studied under Dr. John C. Warren. He removed to Groton and practised his profession there for ten years. He was a Trustee of Lawrence Academy from 1831–1867 and was interested in genealogical and antiquarian matters.

His son Samuel Abbott Green (H. C. 1851) was a pupil in the office of Dr. J. Mason Warren, entered the Harvard Medical School, attended a course of lectures at the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia in 1851–52, served as surgical house pupil in the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1853, and was graduated from the Harvard Medical School in 1854 with the degree of M.D. After graduation he sailed for the Mediterrean in a sailing packet and was cured by the voyage from a threatened attack of consumption which never reappeared. He studied medicine in Vienna. He returned to Boston in 1855 and began practice on Harrison Avenue. He assisted both Doctors John C. and J. Mason Warren as an expert etheriser in their operations and he also had charge of their dissecting room in their Museum building on Chestnut Street. In 1858 he was elected surgeon of the 2d Mass. Militia Regiment and from 1858–1861 he was a district physician of the Boston Dispensary. When the Civil War began he was the first physician in the country to enter the army medical service for a full term of three years. He was commissioned the Assistant Surgeon of the 1st Regiment M. V. M. May 25, 1861, and Surgeon of the 28th Regiment September 2, 1861, and also served on the staffs of Generals Stevenson, Foster, Hawley, Terry and Kautz. During the Burnside expedition against Roanoke Island he was in charge of the Hospital Ship *Recruit* and of the Hospital Steamer *Cosmopolitan* on the Coast of South Carolina, and during the siege of Fort Wagner he was chief Medical Officer at Morris Island. He was probably the last person to whom Colonel Shaw spoke before the attack on Fort Wagner. He was also post surgeon at St. Augustine and was with General Butler at Bermuda Hundred. He was also in Richmond after its capture from April to July, 1865. He received a brevet of Lieutenant Colonel for gallant and distinguished service in the field during the campaign of 1864 and resigned from the army July 8, 1865.

On his return to civil life he resumed practice in the same neighborhood in which he began his career, one of the poorest quarters of the city, and to which I shall refer later in more detail.

From 1865 to 1872 he served as Superintendent of the Boston Dispensary and from 1871 to 1882 he was the City Physician of the City of Boston.

In 1870 he served upon a commission to care for disabled soldiers and in 1878 he was a member of the Board to investigate the yellow fever epidemic. He was a fellow of the Massachusetts Medical Society and delivered the Centennial Address in 1881 on the History of Medicine in Massachusetts. He was also a member of the Boston Society for Medical Observation; of the Board for Medical Improvement, of the State Board of Health, Lunacy, and Charity, and President of the Channing Home for Consumptives.

He was active in many scientific enterprises outside of his profession. He was editor of the *American Journal of Numismatics* from 1871–1891 and President of the Boston Society of Numismatics in 1892.

He was a Trustee of the Peabody Education Fund from 1883 until the last meeting of the Trust in 1918 and for some years from 1885–1888 its acting agent. He was a Member of the School Board of Boston, 1860–62, 1866–72, a Trustee of the Boston Public Library, 1868–1878, and its Librarian, 1877–78, and in 1869–80 and 1882–90 he was an overseer of Harvard College. In 1882 he was nominated at a Citizens' Convention for the office of Mayor of Boston and was elected and served for one year. He was eminently fair and entirely free from partisan politics and he showed courage and determination in his removal from office of Henry Walker and the other Police Commissioners, but he was not re-elected and made no further attempt for public office.

He was a Member of New-England Historic and Genealogical Society from 1858 till his death, and he was then the oldest active member.

In all these positions and places of trust he served with courage, intelligence, integrity and to the entire satisfaction of the public and the parties concerned, but as I read his character and the story of his life they were all secondary to the three great underlying interests, which might even be called the ruling passions of his life, and which never ceased to influence him.

The first of these was his intense interest in human beings, and especially in children. It was this which induced him to settle and remain on Harrison Avenue. When he began his practice there it was well known to be one of the poorest quarters of the city. As someone has felicitously described

such a neighborhood, it was inhabited by "God's poor, the devil's poor and the poor devil." The Doctor, with his ever kindness of heart and sympathetic nature, was deeply interested in the misfortunes of his neighbors. He doctored them, advised and assisted them, and soon earned their confidence, affection, and admiration. He constituted in fact the first "settlement house" in Boston. In a short time, however, that quarter of the city became crowded with Armenians, Italians, Chinese, and other foreigners and became one of the most disreputable portions of the city. It was even considered a dangerous place to venture into after dark. None the less the Doctor continued his activities, and indeed he found the disreputable members of the community more interesting than the merely commonplace poor. He doctored, advised, received their confidences, listened to their stories, and actually made some permanent friendships among members of the criminal classes. He delighted in repeating tales of the various and curious incidents in the lives of his new associates and his stories were well told and exceedingly interesting. I remember an instance of his almost uncanny knowledge of the underworld. Attending the marriage of the daughter of a retired officer of the Civil War, I happened to sit in the same pew with Dr. Green, and as the bride came in on the arm of her father I noticed a tall, handsome, and exceedingly well dressed lady walking up the aisle with the bride's family. Dr. Green turned to me and asked me who that tall lady was, and I said I understood she was a cousin. The Doctor said that when the ceremony was over he would tell me something about her. After the ceremony was over the lady walked out of the church on the father's arm. Dr. Green then said "I have always considered it as a part of my duty as City Physician to visit at once the place where a murder has been committed and examine the victim of the murder. Ten days ago I went to one of the worst slums in the City of Boston where a brutal murder had been committed and that woman opened the door." And it was true that she did.

But the doctor's chief interest in that community was in the children. That was the interest which mainly induced him to stay in that disreputable neighborhood until late in life, and until he gave up practice altogether. He loved all children, but

I think he preferred the semi-barbarous ones. Every night in the spring and summer and when the weather permitted a crowd of young urchins collected before his door and waited for him to come out and talk to them. If he happened to be late, some of them would crawl up and knock on his window and call out, "Say, Doc, aren't you coming out tonight?" And almost every night the Doctor came out onto his doorsteps. He told stories to the children, advised and corrected them, and listened to their stories and answered their questions. They wanted to know among other things whether he had been at the battle of Bunker Hill and was a friend of George Washington. The doctor always admitted that he thoroughly enjoyed these conferences. He was always interested in and beloved by children of every grade of society. Even in his extreme old age, when he was injured by a fall in the street and taken to the Boston City Hospital, he at his request was put into the children's ward. As soon as he was convalescent he was surrounded by the children, to whom he told stories and with whom he made friends.

Another deep-seated interest was his love for the beautiful little town of Groton. He was born there, his mother was a native of Groton, he spent his early years there, was prepared for college in the Lawrence Academy, went to Harvard College from there, and he returned to Groton for rest and recreation all through his life. He left large bequests to the town and to Lawrence Academy, of whose Board of Trustees he was the President for many years. He never lost his interest in its affairs and he devoted years of careful and conscientious labor in completing a history of the town and its activities in all its relations to this Country since its foundation. No incident was too trivial to escape his eager research and no record which was connected with its history remained hidden.

It is not necessary to give in detail all his publications on the subject. A few specimens will suffice. The titles of them are as follows:

Groton during the Indian Wars, Bounding Lines of Old Groton, Early records of Groton, Groton during the Revolution, Land Grants of Groton, The Lawyers of Groton, Physicians and Dentists of Groton, Bicentennial of Groton, Early Church Records of Groton, Geography of Groton, Epitaphs in the Old

Burying Ground, Groton in Witchcraft Times, Groton during Shays' Rebellion, Ecclesiastical Council held at Groton. Most of these and many others were collected into four volumes of the Groton Historical Series and a History of Groton published in 1912–1914.

His membership in the Massachusetts Historical Society was, however, the strongest and most absorbing interest in his life and gave him the most lasting pleasure. Elected a Resident member in 1860, he was at the time of his death and had been for twenty-two years the senior living member of the Society. Elected the Keeper of the Cabinet in 1861, a Member of the Council, Librarian in 1868 until his death in 1918 (the longest term of service in any office held by a member of the Society), and Vice-President in 1895 until 1912. His unabated interest in the Society was shown by his almost unbroken attendance at its Meetings and his constant contributions of addresses, monographs, and communications of all kinds, the variety of which showed an extraordinary familiarity with the records and history of New England. They were all marked by a scrupulous care in the selection of his materials and by nonpartisanship in his deductions. When elected Librarian the Society held only 8,000 books and 13,000 pamphlets, and when his health failed in 1912 there were more than 50,000 books and 115,000 pamphlets in the possession of the Society.

He also served on numerous committees. Some of them are as follows:

The Committee on publication of the Proceedings, 1864–1882, on the publication of Historical Collections and the Pepperrell Papers, on preservation of the Old State House, on Memorials of the Antiquities of Boston, on the Building Committee and on reconstruction of the Building, on the Centennial Exhibition, on the Condition of the State Archives, on the Centennial Anniversary of the Inauguration of Washington, on the hundredth Anniversary of the Society, and on many others.

He was appointed a Delegate to represent the Society at the meeting of the Antwerp Archaeological Society, 1867, at the Centennial Celebration of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and at the Anniversary of the American Philosophical Society. He was an interesting and frequent speaker at the

meetings of the Society and delivered tributes on many deceased members, and among others on Justin Winsor, Charles F. Dunbar, John D. Washburn, John T. Hassam, William S. Appleton, Edward J. Young, William Everett, Francis W. Palfrey, Robert C. Winthrop, Henry W. Haynes, William W. Goodwin, Thornton K. Lothrop, and Charles Francis Adams.

It is impossible and unnecessary to give in detail a catalogue of the communications, addresses, and historical papers presented by him at the meetings of the Society. The list is a formidable one, containing hundreds of items. Our only attempt at this time will be to give such a selection as will show his extraordinary and diversified knowledge of American History. As early as in 1876 he presented a treatise on the Laws of Harvard College, in 1888 a communication on the Congregational Church in Nova Scotia, from 1888 to 1893 papers relating to the Diaries of Increase Mather, of Lieut. Colonel Bradstreet at Louisburg, of the Reverend Joseph Emerson, of Captain Lawrence Hammond of Charlestown, of Chief Justice John Marshall, and of others. Also papers upon the early appearance of Northern Lights in New England, on Hubbard's Map of New England, on a portrait of Increase Mather, on Michael Wigglesworth and his Day of Doom, on Early Imprints, on Benjamin Thompson and his Works, on the Early History of Printing in New England, on the Boston Magazine, on old Mile Stones leading from Boston, on some notes on Piracy, on the British Accounts of Lexington, on James Otis's Argument on Writs of Assistance, on the Battle of Lake George, on Funeral Elegies, and on Grants of land in 1684. This list will at least give some idea of the scope of his studies.

His works on the history of Groton, already referred to, also formed a part of his constant communications to the Society's proceedings.

During the last years of his life he made his home at the Society's new building in which he had his special desk and chair and spent all his time.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1921.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., Mr. WARREN in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported among the accessions:

From Amos Prescott Baker, a copy of the third edition of Thomas Fuller's "Historie of the Holy Warre," Cambridge, 1647, bearing the autograph signatures of Samuel Mather, 1650, and of Samuel Parker, East Cambridge. Mr. Baker also deposited his copy of the First Folio of Shakespeare with the autograph of William Parker, Jr., 1791, and containing the following note by Edward Everett, dated at Boston, April 23, 1864: "It is said that the manuscript of the Pandects at Florence used to be exhibited with lighted tapers, as a Sacred Relic. I should be more inclined to pay that honor to a copy of the First Folio of Shakespeare." There follow signatures of Adelaide Ristori, Boston, Nov. 2, 1866, Fanny Janauschek, and Edwin Booth, Nov. 3, 1868, Charles Fechter, February 28, 1870, Charlotte Cushman, Newport, August 12, 1871, Tommaso Salvini, May 11, 1874, Lawrence Barrett, Newport, February 16, 1880, Ernest Rossi, Providence, Oct. 17, 1881, William Warren, Boston, April 16, 1882, Helena Modjeska, May 9, 1886, Edward S. Willard, May, 1891, and Constant Coquelin, Boston, April 25, 1901.

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, a large collection of family papers covering the period from 1773 to 1920. This collection contains the correspondence and papers of five generations of physicians, beginning with General Joseph Warren, and his brother John, who have been closely identified with the progress of medicine in this country for a century and a half. The gift also includes the Diary of Dr. John Collins Warren in twenty bound volumes, 1838–1857. Dr. Warren also deposited the original manuscript of the famous oration of Joseph Warren, delivered March 6, 1775, to commemorate the Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770; and the diary of the brother, Dr. John Warren, April 19, 1775, to May 11, 1776.

From Miss Edith Andrew and Henry Hersey Andrew, papers of their father, Gov. John A. Andrew (1837–1867), in continuation of their former gift. With these are a number of printed pieces, broadsides, tickets, passes on railroads, and menus.

From Mrs. Arthur Gilman, of Cambridge, the Gilman family papers, 1737–1908, relating to Massachusetts and New Hampshire history.

From Miss Elizabeth C. Putnam, a draft of a letter from Judge Samuel Putnam to Joseph B. Boyd of Boston, March 25, 1843, referring to Col. William Prescott as commanding in the breastwork at the Battle of Bunker Hill.

From Worthington C. Ford, a photostat copy of a proclamation, recently acquired by the Library of Congress, signed by President George Washington at New York, October 3, 1789, for a public thanksgiving to be observed on Thursday, November 26, which is the first proclamation issued under the Constitution. It is in the handwriting of William Jackson, Secretary to the Federal Convention of 1789, but without the usual attestation of the Secretary of State and the Great Seal, as was later the practice.

From Joseph F. Sabin, three sermons (in MS.) preached at Goshen, Connecticut, June 14, 1761, January 15, 1769, and November 5, 1775.

From Miss Eleanor Goddard May, executrix of the will of Miss Julia Goddard of Brookline, a book of orders of Major William Dawes, the patriot, 1772–3, Directions for Military Movements, account of Provisions, 1779–1780; and ledger account of Dawes and Coolidge, 1781–1786.

From Miss Eliza Winslow Eaton Holland, recollections of Capt. Park Holland of Petersham, Mass., and Edington and Bangor, Maine, 1756–1841, copied from the original in the Petersham Historical Society; and a Diary of Charles Turner Holland from Frankfort, Maine, to San Francisco, 1849.

From William Bacon Revere, by deposit, the papers and account books of Paul Revere, 1746–1850, including his letters received, his letter books, 1783–1823, ledgers, 1780–1803, cash, invoice, and bank accounts, 1783–1812, memorandum, account, and receipt books, 1780–1828, also the day book of Joseph Eayrs, 1770–1788, and copies of papers relating to William Bingham's purchase of Maine lands, 1789–1806. These papers throw light on his business affairs, on his important work in the patriot cause, on the establishment of powder mills during the Revolutionary War, of mills for melting iron ore and for casting, on the making of bells, of cannon for the United States government, and metal work and a bell for the *Constitution*. Among the pieces are several commissions issued to him as Major of Artillery, of Militia, and is Lieutenant Colonel of the Train of Artillery in Boston, also orders and letters relating to his service as Lieutenant Colonel of Artillery in command at Castle Island in defence of the town.

By purchase, the diary of Jonathan Willis of Boston and Medford, August 5, 1744, to February 10, 1746–7.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Miss Edith Andrew and Henry Hersey Andrew, a number of relics and prints associated with the Civil War, and with Abraham Lincoln, which belonged to their father Gov. John A. Andrew, including a piece of the flag which Colonel Ellsworth had on his arm when he was shot in the hotel at Alexandria, Va., a piece of wood from the *Merrimac;* and a water-color sketch by J. C. Babcock, of the *Monitor* as she appeared off Fort Monroe, March 28, 1862, given to Governor Andrew by Capt. P. C. Davis, commanding the 7th Massachusetts Volunteer Light Artillery.

From Frank W. Bayley, a number of photographs from paintings by Copley, Duyckinck, Peale, and Stuart.

From Horatio Greenough Curtis, a Washington Independence medal; a Franklin medal in terra cotta, by Nini, 1777; photographs of a miniature of William Wignall Stevens by Henry Pelham, of a portrait of David Stoddard Greenough (1752–1826), by Stuart; and of the gravestones in the Copp's Hill Cemetery of William Greenough (1641–1693) and of William Clark.

From Isabella Scott, of Bognor, Sussex, England, a piece of the Southern flag that was floating over Fort Sumter when taken by the Federal troops on April 14, 1865, given soon afterward at Palermo to her brother Arthur Scott, owner of the *Manchester Guardian*, by Mrs. Charles Kuhn (Louisa Catherine Adams), daughter of Charles Francis Adams, then United States Minister at the Court of St. James.

From Dr. Harold Clarence Ernst, a bust in plaster of Wendell Phillips.

From Miss Sara Norton, a photograph of a group of commissioned officers of the Twentieth Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers.

From Gen. Francis Henry Appleton, a photograph of a wax portrait of Gov. James Sullivan, the first president of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The portrait originally belonged to James Ridgway of Boston.

From Joseph Leman Vondel, of Windsor, Maine, a photograph of the tablet erected by the Lincoln County Historical Society, 1905, to commemorate the giving by Samoset an Indian, Sagamore of Pemaquid, who welcomed the English to Plymouth, of a deed of land to John Brown of New Harbor, Bristol, Maine, July 15, 1625.

From Dr. John Woodford Farlow, a photograph of the original picture of the group of officers of the Handel and Haydn Society,

1855, owned by Dr. Farlow, with a list of the names of those who have been identified.

From Amos Prescott Baker, two wax portraits by Rauschner of Mr. and Mrs. Ebenezer Eaton.

From Miss Sophia A. Underwood, of Boston, casts of doorways of Salem, Marblehead, and other places.

From Miss Emma L. Coleman, ten Confederate States bills.

From William Sumner Appleton, four pieces of contemporary French currency.

From Carleton S. Gifford, a French "Yser" medal.

From Davenport Brown, specimens of Costa Rican coinage and paper money.

By purchase, thirty-one medallions of typical North American Indians made in 1912 by Edward W. Sawyer, an American sculptor. This set obtained from the sculptor is one of ten sets made.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Gabriel Hanotaux accepting his election as an Honorary Member of the Society, and one from Thomas Goddard Frothingham accepting his election as a Resident Member.

Lord Charnwood, of Lichfield, England, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Recording Secretary reported the following vote passed by the Council:

Voted, That an amendment of the By-Laws permitting a larger use of the Dowse Library room be proposed to the Society at its May meeting, as follows: to strike out the last clause in Article 3, Chapter IX, and to insert in its place the words; "The use of the room for other purposes shall be under the direction of the Council," so that the Article shall read, —

"Art. 3. — Meetings of the Society shall be held in the Dowse Library, if not otherwise ordered by the Council. The use of the room for other purposes shall be under the direction of the Council."

It is necessary to make this notification in order that the change may be made at the next meeting of the Society.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting, and

Dr. SHATTUCK presented and read the

Report of the Council.

In noting the retirement of Mr. Lord from the Treasurership of the Society the Council records its grateful appreciation of his unselfish devotion to the duties of the office and of his success in meeting the growing responsibilities thereof. The Council extends a welcome to his successor and a promise of the continuance of relations mutually grateful and harmonious. Mr. Winslow Warren, senior member of the Society, and within sight of rounding out a half-century of membership, declined a re-election as Vice-President, and with reluctance the Council admits his plea for relief while it confidently anticipates a continuance of his interest in the welfare of the Society.

The past year has been one of great activity. Apart from increasing funds, the Society has received notable gifts to collections and to cabinet. The papers of Gov. John A. Andrew would alone have marked a year, and the deposit of the Paul Revere and Isaac Smith papers emphasizes the important stores of manuscript material that are turned over to the Society for safety and for use by writers of history. The gift of the papers of Caleb Davis and of the Shattuck family, rich in local relations and personal matter, may be mentioned. Accessions by the thousand pieces continue to come, a happy presage of future wealth in the raw materials of Massachusetts and national history.

With the increasing collections come increasing responsibilities, greater cost in maintenance, and new requirements in space and equipment. The need of an addition to the present building has become imperative, if only to assure the continued growth and public usefulness of the Society. Merely to accumulate, to heap up records and memorials in bulk and some confusion, is not the true ideal of the Society; these records must be indexed, bound, and in proper cases, ready to be examined and drawn upon by the investigator. The existing building is taxed to its capacity and both library and cabinet demand more space, while the need of a reading room and facilities for investigators can only be met by the proposed addition. This problem, the solution of which is so essential to the future of the Society, is now in the hands of a committee, and it is to be hoped a satisfactory result will be obtained in the near future.

The publications of the year included the second volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts*, 1718–1720, printed under the W. B. H. Dowse gift. The Commonwealth has recognized the public utility of these reprints by taking five hundred copies of each volume, thus permitting a wider and also a more special distribution to corporations and public libraries of the State. Volume LIII of the *Proceedings* appeared in due course, containing the usual combination of original contributions and historical documents. Attention may be called to two features of the volume. The journal by John Boit of the voyage to the northwest coast of the Boston ship, the *Columbia*, on which voyage the Columbia River was discovered and named, was reprinted in Washington State and attracted much attention in the far West and in Canada as a valuable and highly interesting record. The letters of Thomas Thornely to Mr. Henry Lee of Boston during the contest for free trade in England have called out a response from the present representative of the Thornely family in Cambridge, England, but unfortunately have not resulted in finding the letters of Mr. Lee, which must have been of the best historical quality, for they were written by one exceptionally well equipped in his subject and were praised by so competent authorities as Thomas Tooke and Lord Overstone.

It is not possible to state with certainty what will be published in the coming year. There will be a volume of *Proceedings* and the third of the *Journals of the House of Representatives*. In the Collections three volumes are ready for publication. The second volume of the *Warren-Adams Letters* will complete a chapter of Massachusetts history contributed by two of the leading characters of the period of the War of Independence. The material is drawn from two important private collections and is supplemented by additional material from the archives of the Commonwealth. As aids to the student and collector the Society has ready for the press two compilations covering fields as yet almost untouched, and for which it has special facilities. Dr. Storer has prepared a descriptive check-list of Massachusetts medals and similar tokens, based upon the fine collection, the largest of its kind, in the cabinet of the Society; and the Editor has compiled a check-list of Massachusetts broadsides and leaflets from the earliest period to 1800,

a branch of collecting much neglected in the past but now assiduously cultivated. Both lists will prove the richness of the Society's accumulations.

Nor do the publishing possibilities end there. The first volume of the Winthrop Papers, a volume assured by the generous gift of Mr. Frederic Winthrop and associates, will be ready for the press during the summer, marking the beginning of the most important contribution of original material ever made to earliest New England history. Whether regarded as family or as public records the Winthrop papers are unequalled in scope and quantity by any colonial collections, and the publication thus commenced will be timely in view of the tercentenary in 1930 of the settlement of Boston. The Winthrop volumes will form the crowning contribution to the history of New England and British colonization in North America from a family which played an important part in two colonies for nearly a century and has left its impress on Massachusetts history for two centuries.

Of less importance if measured by output, but of equal interest if judged by quality, is the publishing work of the Society's photostat, which continues to be of increasing value to the Society and its patrons. Many little ventures have been made for scholars and others, both at home and at a long distance, bringing to them for their needs an exact reproduction of originals and at a cost which is not prohibitive, as was the case under the older processes of reproduction. Collectors have asked for prints of the very rare and almost unattainable, and much has been done in copying manuscript as well as printed material. But the Society has assumed some large undertakings, involving systematic reproduction, in series of records or documents of sufficient historical moment to justify the undertaking. Three more years of the *Boston News-Letter* were distributed to the subscribing libraries during the year, making forty-two years of the newspaper thus far reproduced, a record not approached by any like enterprise. English and American historical broadsides to the number of one hundred have also been sent out, material existing in so small a number as to be practically unique in the original form; while its own collections have been enriched by upwards of two hundred and fifty reproductions of rarest Massachusetts imprints,

drawn from public and private collections, in Europe as well as in the United States. Such accessions are not confined to single sheets but include volumes of size.

The general purpose of the combination of libraries to reproduce by photostat early Americana was given in the report of the Council in April, 1920: that it was to issue ten copies of the rarest pieces of early Americana, and to place them in ten leading libraries of the United States. At the time that report was made twelve volumes had been completed and distributed. Since then twenty-seven more volumes have been sent out and among them may be mentioned: Carta de privilegios, or privileges granted to Columbus, from the only known copy of the Burgos tract of 1497, in the library of the Duchesa d' Alba; three contemporary editions of the letter of Columbus announcing the discovery of America; four editions of the letter of Vespuccius; Cabot's Declaratio chartae (1544); Libretto de tutta la navigation (1504), of which only one perfect copy is known; Cortes, De Contreyen (1523); Maximilianus, De Moluccis, issued at Paris in the same year (1523); Parmentier, Description, Paris, 1531; Nuñez, Tratado de Sphera (1537); Dati's rhymed version of the letter of discovery (1495), and others of a like character. The works thus reproduced were drawn from a number of sources — the Henry E. Huntington Library, British Museum, Bibliothèque Nationale, Royal Library at Brussels, the Marciana in Venice, Public Record Office, London, New York Public Library, and the John Carter Brown Library. Without question the plan has opened a field of great utility. The pieces selected for reproduction have for the most part been known in single copies, in European or in private libraries, and therefore practically inaccessible to the American student. Apart from its rarity and unquestioned historical value, each piece has its bibliographical interest. Already results have followed the reproductions in assigning issues to their printers and places of publications, and in the correction of errors in description or transcription. It is next to bringing the original to the worker, and it has brought in that form what has never before been seen in America.

To excel in a few lines is a reasonable ambition of a library of to-day, and the name of the Society suggests those lines. Whatever pertains to the history of Massachusetts falls within

its special function, and the accessions of the past have given it pre-eminence in three specialties — manuscripts, Massachusetts broadsides, and Boston newspapers. The list appears small, yet the results are important. Nowhere else can the Boston newspapers of the colonial and provincial periods be found in so complete files, and in no other historical society can such a mass of historical manuscripts on Massachusetts history be consulted. These advantages should be held and increased with every opportunity.

It would, however, be unfortunate to confine the collections to Massachusetts or even to New England material, or to what is of antiquarian interest. The specialized library has become a necessity to the investigator, but where does there exist in this region a library devoted to history? The university library contains a great accumulation of historical writings, but the demands upon it from the members of the university make it so much the less available to the general reader. In all the wealth of books offered in this city and its neighbors there is no library on history where the inquirer would be certain of finding what he wanted, free and at his call. It would not require a large annual expenditure to lay the foundations of such a library and each year would develop and strengthen it until it becomes a historical laboratory, a pioneer of its kind, public in the best sense of the word, because open to any one of honest intention. To accomplish this end a systematic plan should be adopted.

It is a day of large undertakings and the Society must plan largely for the future. Its success in fulfilling its duties, public and private, will rest upon the generosity of its members and friends. Significant as that has been in the past, a steady increase in its funds can alone give it the means to maintain and extend its reputation.

Report of the Treasurer.

In presenting his annual report Mr. Lord said:

A brief statement of the financial condition of the Society, summarizing and supplementing what is set forth in full detail in the Treasurer's Report, may be of interest.

The property of the Society may be divided conveniently as follows:

1. The Land and Buildings, which stand on the books at $97,990.32 and are valued by the City Assessors at $196,000.

2. The Library and Collections have never been appraised.

3. The Investments of the Society are carried on the books, as appears in the Investment Account, Exhibit 1, of the Treasurer's Report, at $579,436.37, an increase in the invested funds the past year of $34,922.42. Of this sum the two Centenary funds amount to $88,470.04, of which $81,426.00 is the principal of the Sibley Centenary Fund and $7,044.04 is the principal of the Anonymous Fund. Under the terms of the bequests the income of these funds must be added to the principal until the expiration of one hundred years from the date of their receipt, or, in the case of the Sibley Fund the year 2002, and in the case of the Anonymous Fund the year 1991.

The income of the Society from its Investments credited the past year was $33,828.94, and from all other sources (which include sale of duplicates, photostats, and gift of Mr. Dowse of $1200) $14,920.17, making the total income $48,759.11. From the income from investments must be deducted the income of the two centenary funds, amounting to $4,210.95, which under the terms of the gifts are to be added annually to the principal, and leaving a balance of income from investments available for the purposes of the Society under the terms of the gifts of $29,617.99. The total disbursements charged against income from all sources were $42,972.74, leaving a balance on hand of $1565.42.

In making my final report as Treasurer of the Society at the close of fourteen years of service, I take the opportunity of expressing my hearty appreciation of its courtesy and confidence.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII, Article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report made up to April 1, 1921.

The special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty-three in number. A list of these funds, with the income and expenditure of each fund, appears in Exhibit V in this report. An account of twenty-nine of these funds, giving a brief history of each fund, will be found in the Treasurer's Report for

the year ending March 31, 1910. (*Proceedings*, XLIII. 529); the thirtieth fund is described in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1911; the thirty-first fund was established in the name of the Charles Card Smith Fund and fund number thirty-two was established under the name of the Adams Fund, both described in the Treasurer's Report for the year ending March 31, 1920.

Last year the receipts of the Adams Fund amounted to $17,781.79, as appeared in my Report for 1920, and the receipts from royalties on the *Autobiography* of Charles Francis Adams and the *Education of Henry Adams* this year amount to the sum of $10,538.00, making the total amount of the fund at the date of this Report $28,319.76.

Special fund number thirty-three has been established this year and is a gift from Frederic Winthrop, in memory of Robert Dudley Winthrop, and Grenville Lindall Winthrop, Frederic Winthrop, and Beekman Winthrop:

To establish a Fund in Memory of our Father, Robert Winthrop, to be known as the Robert Winthrop Fund. The principal of this Fund is to be invested and kept invested, and the income only to be used for the publication of papers written by Members of the Winthrop Family, or of papers relating to the Winthrop Family in Massachusetts and in Connecticut, or for research relating to the Winthrop Family in England, before or during the Great Puritan Emigration to New England in the Seventeenth Century.

Should desirable material for such publication or research not be available during any year or term of years, the income shall be allowed to accumulate during such year or term of years until the income so accumulated shall amount in the aggregate to Ten Thousand Dollars. These accumulations shall then be added to the principal and the principal so invested shall be regarded as a new principal, which shall be invested and kept invested, and the income only used for such purposes of the Society as the President and Council of the Society shall from time to time determine — preference always to be given to the purposes for which this Fund originally was established.

I have also had notice of a legacy to the Society of Three Thousand Dollars under the will of James Schouler, and of a bequest of Five Thousand Dollars under the will of the late Robert A. Boit, which will shortly be paid to the Society.

The receipts from the Photostat the past year were $5,308.47, and the expenditures were $4,562.06, leaving a surplus of $746.41.

Mr. Dowse has provided for the third volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives* of Massachusetts, to be issued under the terms of his gift.

The Treasurer has received the past year contributions amounting to $7,710.00 in aid of the Society's Building Fund, which now amounts, including interest on balances of $181.89, to $15,881.89, and which is a special deposit in the Old Colony Trust Company. In addition to this amount actually deposited, additional subscriptions have been promised to the amount of $5,550.

INVESTMENTS.

SCHEDULE OF BONDS.

Rio Grande Western R. R. Co.	4%	1939		$5,000.00
Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Co.	4%	1959		3,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995		14,500.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R.	4%	1995	"adjustment"	9,000.00
Chicago Jct. & Union Stock Yards	5%	1940		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	5%	1946		10,000.00
Oregon Short Line R. R. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Co.	4½%	1944		6,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4%	1929		10,000.00
Northern Pacific & Gt. Northern R. R.	4%	1921		50,000.00
Long Island R. R. Co.	4%	1949		6,000.00
New York Central & Hudson River R. R.	4%	1934		15,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co.	4%	1951		10,000.00
Fitchburg R. R. Co.	4%	1927		9,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield R. R.	5%	1925		3,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. R. R.	5%	1923		2,000.00
Washington Water Power Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
United Electric Securities Co.	5%	(1)		25,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	5%	1939		10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		10,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5%	1929		5,000.00
Detroit Edison Co.	5%	1933		5,000.00
U. S. Steel Corporation	5%	1963		10,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway	5%	1942		8,000.00
Carry forward				$265,500.00

[1] 1936, 1939, 1940 and 1942.

Brought forward				$255,500.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932		10,000.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5%	1963		10,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R. Co.	5%	1938		10,000.00
Cleveland Short Line R. R. Co.	4½%	1961		10,000.00
Massachusetts Lighting Co.	7%	1930		10,000.00
United Elec. Lt. & Power Co.	4½%	1929		10,000.00
Wilmington City Electric Co.	5%	1951		5,000.00
Old Colony Gas Co.	5%	1931		5,000.00
Dedham Water Co.	5%	1935		5,000.00
Railway & Light Securities Co.	5%	1946		5,000.00
Plymouth Electric Light Co.	5%	1925		4,000.00
Père Marquette R. R.	5%	1956		15,000.00
Père Marquette R. R.	4%	1956		2,000.00
New Bedford Gas & Edison Light Co.	6%	1922		5,000.00
United States Liberty Loan, Second	4¼%	1942	"converted"	23,000.00
United States Liberty Loan, Third	4¼%	1928		20,000.00
United States Liberty Loan, Fourth	4¼%	1938		10,000.00
United States Victory Loan	4¾%	1923		22,000.00
Western Union Tel. Co.	5%	1938		10,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	6%	1922		10,000.00
Western Electric Co.	7%	1925		5,000.00
Hartford Electric Co.	7%	1930		5,000.00
			Par value	$466,500.00

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS.

50	Merchants National Bank, Boston	$5,000.00
50	National Union Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	Second National Bank, Boston	5,000.00
50	National Shawmut Bank, Boston	5,000.00
35	Boston & Albany R. R. Co.	3,500.00
25	Old Colony R. R. Co.	2,500.00
25	Boston & Maine. 1st Pfd.	2,500.00
150	Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	15,000.00
75	American Smelting & Refining Co. Pfd.	7,500.00
158	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co. Pfd.	15,800.00
302	Kansas City Stock Yards Co. Pfd.	30,200.00
10	Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co.	1,000.00
6	Boston Real Estate Trust	6,000.00
5	State Street Exchange	500.00
200	Pacific Mills	20,000.00
52	Puget Sound Traction Light and Power Co. Pfd.	5,200.00
5	" " " " " " " Common	500.00
50	American Tel. & Tel. Co.	5,000.00
50	American Sugar Refining Co. Pfd.	5,000.00
1348	Shares — Par value	$140,200.00

SCHEDULE OF SAVINGS BANK BOOKS.

M. A. Parker Fund	$1,495.16
Brattle St. Church Model Fund	205.07
	$1,700.23

RECAPITULATION.

Bonds, par value	$466,500.00
Stocks, par value	140,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,700.23
	$608,400.23

BALANCE SHEET, March 31, 1921.

Investment Account, Exhibit I	$579,436.37	Funds, Exhibit II	$517,650.26
Cash on hand, Exhibit IV	1,565.42	Accumulated Income of Funds, Exhibit III	63,351.53
	$581,001.79		$581,001.79

EXHIBIT I.

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT.

Balance, April 1, 1920		$544,513.95
Added during year:		
$5,000 Western Electric Co. 7%	$4,925.00	
12,000 U. S. Victory Loan 4¾ %	11,448.00	
5,000 Hartford Electric Light Co. 7%	5,000.00	
5,000 Western Tel. & Tel. 5%	4,050.00	
2,000 U. S. Third Liberty Loan 4¼%	1,808.00	
3,000 American Tel. & Tel. 6%	2,921.25	
5,000 United States Steel Corp'ns 5%	4,750.00	
Accrued Interest M. A. Parker Savings Bank Book	65.06	
" " Brattle St. Church Model Bank Book	11.34	34,978.65
		$579,492.60
Withdrawn from Brattle St. Church Model Bank Book		56.23
Balance, March 31, 1921		$579,436.37

EXHIBIT II.

INCREASE OF FUNDS IN YEAR 1920–1921.

Amount of Funds, April 1, 1920		$492,901.31
Added during year:		
Centenary Funds:		
Anonymous Fund	$335.43	
J. L. Sibley Fund	3,875.52	
Adams Fund — Royalties	10,538.00	
Robert Winthrop Fund	10,000.00	24,748.95
Total of Funds, March 31, 1921		$517,650.26

EXHIBIT III.

Accumulated Income of Funds.

Balance Accumulated Income, April 1, 1920		$54,968.00
Income during year, Exhibit IV		48,759.11
		$103,727.11
Expenditures during year, Exhibit IV	$36,164.63	
Added to Principal Centenary Funds	4,210.95	40,375.58
Balance, March 31, 1921		63,351.53

EXHIBIT IV.

Cash Account.

Balance on hand, April 1, 1920			$3,355.36
Receipts during year:			
Publications		$1,448.35	
Photostat		5,308.47	
Sales of Duplicates, etc.		4,670.35	
" " House Journals		2,303.00	
Gift of Mr. W. B. H. Dowse		1,200.00	
Credited to General Fund Income		$14,930.17	
Interest on Bank Balances		264.35	
" " Savings Bank Books		76.40	
Income from Investments		33,488.19	
Total Income		$48,759.11	
Credited to Income of Various Funds			44,548.16
Principal of Centenary Funds			4,210.95
Robert Winthrop Fund			10,000.00
Adams Fund			10,538.00
			$72,652.47
Charges during year to March 31, 1921:			
Investment Account: Purchases, Bonds		$34,902.25	
Added to Savings Banks		76.40	
		$34,978.65	
Less withdrawn from Savings Bank		56.23	
Total Addition		$34,922.42	
Income Account:			
Bindery	$1,311.6		
Binding	822.42		
Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers & mss.	2,252.66		
Carry forward	$4,386.69	$34,922.42	$72,652.47

CASH ACCOUNT—*Continued*

Brought forward		$4,386.69	$34,922.42	$72,652.47
Building:				
Cleaning	$601.22			
Engineer	1,256.75			
Fuel	862.21			
Furniture	93.15			
Light	526.41			
Repairs	865.02			
Telephone	155.60			
Water	71.43			
Insurance	1,127.46	5,559.25		
Photostat		4,562.06		
Portraits and Medals		824.84		
Postage		137.80		
Printing:				
Proceedings, vol. 53	$2,036.54			
House Journal	3,412.66			
Illustrations and Reprints	453.00			
Proceedings, vol. 54	402.90	6,305.10		
Miscellaneous		199.50		
Salaries:				
Librarians and Assistants	$6,120.00			
Editor and Assistant	6,279.92	12,379.92		
Stationery		220.64		
Treasurer's office:				
Bond	$25.00			
Bookkeeper	1,000.00			
Safety Vault	60.00			
Certified Public Accountant	75.00	1,160.00		
Miscellaneous		428.83		
Charged Income of Funds			36,164.63	
Total Payments				71,087.05
Balance on hand, March 31, 1921				$1,565.42

EXHIBIT V.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF FUNDS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1921.

	Balance Mar.31,'20	Income	Expenditure	Balance Mar. 31,'21	Principal of Funds
Adams	$602.19	$1,954.33	$625.00	$1,931.52	$28,319.76
Amory	1,998.56	207.03	160.00	2,045.59	3,000.00
Appleton	4,413.94	842.12	735.00	4,521.06	12,203.00
Bigelow	608.32	138.02	128.83	617.51	2,000.00
Billings	4,068.86	690.09	453.00	4,305.95	10,000.00
Brattle St.	149.96	11.34	56.23	105.07	100.00
Chamberlain	194.31	85.04	71.43	207.92	1,232.33
Dowse	258.70	690.09	886.58	62.21	10,000.00
Ellis	564.76	2,185.30	2,553.46	196.60	31,666.66
Frothingham	2,976.54	207.03		3,183.57	3,000.00
General	74.73	18,843.64	15,469.94	3,448.43	56,709.16
Hunnewell	2,991.92	345.05		3,336.97	5,000.00
Lawrence	1,071.10	207.03		1,278.13	3,000.00
Lowell	666.21	207.03		873.24	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	5,794.98	690.09	768.61	5,716.46	10,000.00
Parker	81.62	65.06	58.00	88.68	1,000.00
Peabody	4,638.65	1,526.70	402.90	5,762.45	22,123.00
Salisbury	257.43	345.05	310.27	292.21	5,000.00
Savage	1,310.63	414.06	499.35	1,225.34	6,000.00
C. A. L. Sibley	599.39	1,553.37	1,424.12	728.64	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	2,961.34	8,355.48	7,185.60	4,131.22	121,077.00
Slafter	327.12	69.01	28.90	367.23	1,000.00
Chas. Card Smith	597.79	1,035.14	833.32	799.61	15,000.00
Waterston No. 1	1,378.36	345.05	377.55	1,345.86	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	4,622.74	690.09	1,490.47	3,822.36	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	4,887.48	690.09	546.07	5,031.50	10,000.00
Waterston Library	328.78	267.42		596.20	3,875.14
R. C. Winthrop	4,339.72	690.09	700.00	4,329.81	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	516.94	163.18	100.00	580.12	2,364.66
Wm. Winthrop	1,684.93	345.05	300.00	1,729.98	5,000.00
Robert Winthrop		690.09		690.09	10,000.00
Totals	$54,968.00	$44,548.16	$36,164.63	$63,351.53	$429,180.22
Sibley Centenary		3,875.52			81,426.00
Anonymous Centenary		335.43			7,044.04
Total Income		48,759.11			
Total Funds					517,650.26

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The accessions to the Library during the last year have been:

Books	1,139
Pamphlets	873
Manuscripts, bound	228
Broadsides, including photostats	322
Maps	14

Gifts make up the larger part of these additions and include most of the bound manuscripts and a large number of manuscripts in single pieces and in collections. The exchanges have furnished many continuing issues of historical societies in the United States, Canada, and England. Purchases have been made to supply deficiencies in series of historical publications, to obtain rare and important titles, biographical, historical, and reference works, and manuscripts of value to our collection. The photostat has furnished copies of manuscripts, and of many rare and unique titles in other libraries. The reports made at the stated meetings of the Society during the year describe the most important pieces received.

Manuscripts form the most valuable part of the accessions, of which the most noteworthy recent gifts are the John A. Andrew, the Caleb Davis, the Shattuck, the Warren, and the Paul Revere papers, covering a long period of our social, political, business, and medical history. It is gratifying to note the increasing interest in the Society as the best repository for priceless collections of papers and numbers of pieces that would otherwise remain in places liable at any moment to suffer loss from fire, division, or neglect. Members of the Society can render valuable assistance in obtaining such papers for the Library, and impressing upon owners the importance of their gift or deposit with the Society.

A helpful feature of the Society's work to encourage these accessions is its department for the repair, arrangement, mounting, and binding of manuscripts to make them accessible to all who are interested. Skilled service for this purpose began in August, 1910, and has continued since then with only slight interruptions. Good results have already been accomplished.

Beside the time given by this department to the Loan Exhibition, the work on the Caleb Davis and the Shattuck papers has been finished and the papers bound in fifty-one volumes have been added to the Library. The Warren papers are now being prepared for binding.

Among the printed works which the investigator expects to find in our collection are those on New England history, important works on general history, modern historical publications, and such other titles as would be found helpful in making the material that the Society can offer of the highest use. The large miscellaneous accumulation which the Society has inherited during a century and a quarter contains many pieces not needed for the special purposes of the Library, and still lacks many which should come within its limited field. As the Library becomes more specialized in its collecting, it will become stronger and more serviceable in the objects for which it was established. An effort has been made during the last year to obtain the publications of English historical and record societies in sets and in numbers as far as possible containing valuable historical material and registers of importance in connection with our early local and colonial history.

More shelf room is imperative, as the Library is badly cramped for want of space, and the inconvenience arising in housing its possessions becomes greater day by day. The process of eventually weeding out the useless material which found its way into the collection in past years through a policy of gathering in everything that lay in sight, will gain some additional space, which will all be needed, in the proposed new stack, where an opportunity will be given for a satisfactory arrangement of the Society's rich treasures.

During the winter just passed much of the Librarian's time has been required in the preparations for the Society's Loan Exhibition, which was opened on the fourth and fifth of this month. A warm and responsive interest in the exhibit was shown by owners of valuable paintings, miniatures, wax portraits, pastels, silhouettes, sundials, and important historical relics, who generously lent them for the purpose. The House Committee, in charge of the exhibit, have been much pleased by the expressions of appreciation from visitors, both for the attractive arrangement and its educational value.

An important step has been taken by the Society in the appointment of a Library Committee, which will be helpful to the Librarian in establishing a better policy as to the administration and development of the Library. There is room for improvement in the effort to make the valuable collections of the Society of the highest service.

JULIUS H. TUTTLE,
Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER.

The additions to the Cabinet for the past year, by gift, purchase, and deposit, have been reported in full each month and printed in the *Proceedings*, and it seems only necessary to refer to these lists now.

Dr. Storer, the curator of coins and medals, reports that during the year there have been added to the collection 638 coins and medals, including 56 of Massachusetts, and about one thousand varieties of paper money.

Many portraits and other articles have been moved into Ellis Hall for the present exhibition and the Cabinet Room has been rearranged temporarily, since the examination by the committee.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS,
Cabinet-Keeper.

Dr. R. M. LAWRENCE read the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET.

The Committee appointed at the last meeting to Examine and Report upon the Library and Cabinet of the Society has performed that duty, and begs to submit the following:

It met on March eighteenth at the rooms of the Society in company with the Librarian, the Cabinet-Keeper, and the Curator of the Coin Collection.

With these gentlemen, it made an inspection of the building and of the property in their charge.

The condition of all the collections is good. The coins are admirably arranged and cared for, but are the only objects that have space sufficient for their adequate display.

As has been said in previous reports of this Committee, the Library, and the collections under the care of the Cabinet-Keeper, are, and have been, woefully overcrowded. There is no possible remedy for this, excepting the one already many times spoken of — that is, an enlargement of the building. In fact, if brevity had been necessary, this report need have contained but two words — "MORE SPACE."

Present conditions prevent any adequate display of the collections, or any easy use of the material in the Library.

The attention of one member of the Committee has been attracted by the extreme heat and dryness of the exhibition room as well as of that containing the Dowse Library. Prolonged exposure to such conditions can but result in serious, if not irreparable, injury to books and paintings. How bad this situation is is indicated by the results of a few tests made with recording instruments. By these it appears that the temperature in Ellis Hall not infrequently passes above 75° Fahrenheit, while the humidity falls as low as 25 to 27%. Such dryness and heat should be remedied at once, as can be done in part with very little expense.

A further suggestion that the Committee is anxious to make is that the exhibition cases have additional legs in order that they may be arranged along the sides of the rooms and in the circular room adjoining. By some such arrangement, the hall may be returned to one of its effective uses—as a place for meetings.

Another observation is of the fact that the exhibition cases are all opened by the same key. This is a convenience from one point of view, but a most extravagant waste of time from another. In the present exhibition one or more cases are devoted to the property of a single individual. If that individual desires to open the case for any reason, it necessitates the presence of the Librarian for the purpose of unlocking and locking the case, and this ought to be unnecessary. If an exhibitor fills a case, it should be possible to turn the key over to him during the time that his property is held.

The unrestricted funds for the purchase of books and manuscripts should be increased. At present these amount to approximately $1200 a year. This is an amount that is insufficient to provide for taking advantage of opportunities that not infrequently arise.

The Committee, therefore, recommends:

1. The alteration of the locks of the exhibition cases, so that there shall be separate keys for each case.

2. The rearrangement of the exhibition cases in such a way as to permit the use of the Ellis room for meetings as well as for exhibits.

3. That immediate attention shall be paid to the temperature and moisture supply in both the Ellis room and the Dowse Library.

These three recommendations can be readily carried out, if approved.

4. The providing of an increased unrestricted income for the purchase of books and manuscripts.

5. Last, but certainly not the least important, the providing of more room for the purposes of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

HAROLD C. ERNST
ROBERT M. LAWRENCE
FITZ-HENRY SMITH, JR.

Dr. SHATTUCK, for the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made a report, upon which a ballot was taken.

The officers are as follows:

President.
HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Vice-Presidents.
JAMES FORD RHODES.
ARTHUR LORD.

Recording Secretary.
EDWARD STANWOOD.

Corresponding Secretary.
WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Treasurer.
ALLAN FORBES.

Librarian.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

Cabinet-Keeper.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Editor.
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Members-at-Large of the Council.
WILLIAM BRADFORD HOMER DOWSE.
WILLIAM STURGIS BIGELOW.
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.
RUSSELL GRAY.
JOHN WOODFORD FARLOW.

Mr. RHODES spoke of the retirement from the Vice-Presidency by Mr. Winslow Warren, who declines re-election, and offered the following vote, which was unanimously passed:

Whereas Mr. Winslow Warren, the senior member, by priority, of the Society, has seen fit to decline a re-election as Vice-President, the Society desires to thank him for his able conduct of the meetings during the last six years. The presiding officer of the Massachusetts Historical Society is necessarily impartial, but it makes a vast difference whether a proper vigor is given to the proceedings. The quality of making things go Mr. Warren possessed. Whether it came from his rare knowledge of man and things, so much in evidence in his various contributions to the Society, or whether it is innate, he had it, and the Society will miss him from the chair he had so worthily filled.

Mr. WARREN responded with words of appreciation.

Mr. LORD'S RETIREMENT FROM THE TREASURYSHIP.

Mr. RHODES then said:

Before passing to other matters it is only right to call attention to the retirement of Mr. Lord from the Treasurership of the Society. The tenth treasurer in order, Mr. Lord came

into office in April, 1907, succeeding Mr. Charles Card Smith, who had served as treasurer thirty years, a term of service only equalled by that of his predecessor, Mr. Richard Frothingham. As Mr. Adams summed up the record of Mr. Smith he truly stated that the duties of the treasurer in the earlier years of Mr. Smith's term were, "comparatively speaking, nominal;" but in 1907 the funds of the Society and their management had assumed importance. The financial results of the first eighty-six years of the Society's life was an accumulated $75,000, and it did not own the building it occupied. Thirty years later, when Mr. Smith closed his stewardship, the Society owned a building valued by the city assessors at $196,000, and held securities and deposits to the amount of $450,000. To-day, according to Mr. Lord's statement, the securities at par and deposits have increased to $608,400. The twenty-two permanent funds of 1907 with an aggregate of $388,789, have increased to thirty-three with an aggregate of $517,650. The ordinary income in 1907 was $24,000 and in 1821, $33,828. No analysis of details can add to the impressiveness of totals thus brought into comparison. The Society has been favored in its agents.

It is such growth alone that permits the Society to sustain its reputation among historical bodies, and it has been fortunate in the policy that has made such growth possible. Our late President, Mr. Adams, contributed much in thought and deed towards determining the course to be followed in dealing with the finances of the Society. He opened opportunities for profitable investments and followed the rule that income should not be exceeded, believing it better to postpone undertakings than to resort to borrowing. In this policy he had a firm and loyal colleague in Mr. Lord, upon whom the details of management rested, and who has maintained the safe policy. It is no exaggeration to say that the Society has never been so strong financially as it is to-day, and consequently never has it been in a better position to meet the demands made upon it. It is a truism, however, that no society such as this is can have more than it can judiciously use; but the settlement of that question belongs to the future. In recognizing Mr. Lord's wish to retire from the Treasurership, I place on record this minute of his honorable services for the best interests of the Society.

To this statement I desire to add a recognition of Mr. Lord's work on the Council. As the Treasurer is a permanent member of the Council Mr. Lord was rarely absent from its meetings and by his judgment contributed much to its proceedings and action. To me he seemed an ideal member. When difficulties arose there came from his fruitful mind some solution which was greedily seized by the Council. He was eminently clear on the legal bearing of a subject and gave the benefit of his legal knowledge without stint. While the records of the Council naturally take no account of discussions by its members, it is easy to appreciate that the issue might have been otherwise had not his wisdom and intelligence guided. Positiveness combined with good judgment are great assets, and this Mr. Lord possesses in an eminent degree.

Mr. Ford said that for more than ten years the Treasurer and the Editor of the Society had enjoyed close relations. Many questions of permanent policy had in that time been brought forward for consideration and full and free discussion had led to a satisfactory solution. Not once had there come between the Treasurer and the Editor the shadow of a difference. As the activity of the Society must be kept within its means, the influence of the Treasurer is naturally great in meeting or discouraging new undertakings; but no proposition of the Editor, however costly or ambitious, has been neglected or set aside on the ground of expense, and Mr. Lord has ever been ready to receive for consideration and improve by suggestion what has made for the best interests of the Society. Conscious of its achievement in the past, he has sought to increase its future utility, and that the Society holds such a position to-day in finance and in performance may be attributed to the broad policy ably supported by Mr. Lord and adopted by his colleagues of the Council. The Editor wishes here to make note of his great indebtedness, personal and official, to Mr. Lord's aid and encouragement.

It was then unanimously

Voted, That the thanks of the Society are presented to Arthur Lord for fourteen years' faithful and successful service as Treasurer of the Society, to which position he recently declined a re-election.

Voted, That the series of reports of the Treasurer printed in the *Proceedings* since 1907 bears full testimony to the judgment, devotion and success with which the office has been administered during its tenure by Mr. Lord.

Voted, That the Council be instructed and empowered to secure a portrait of Mr. Lord for preservation in its collections with those of his predecessors in office.

Mr. LORD briefly returned his thanks to the Society for its votes, and for the cordial support it had given him in the performance of the duties of his office.

Mr. FRANCIS R. HART then read the following note on

A REPORT BY ADMIRAL RODNEY, 1762.

If the historical collections of our average American libraries and the conception of American history as shown by our school text-books are taken as fixing the boundaries of our own history, then we as a nation are by our own confession incompetent recorders of much that influenced our colonial development.

With a few notable exceptions, for example, the Lenox Library at New York and the John Carter Brown Library at Providence, we have been singularly blind to that portion of the New World to the south of us, more or less contained in or touching the Caribbean Sea. Not only were settlements established in the West Indies and on the Caribbean littorals of South and Central America a century in advance of those in North America, but for three hundred years the struggles of the European nations for the control of this near-by territory and its commerce had a direct effect upon our own material, political, and racial development. The records of events in the West Indies and on the Spanish Main during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries are an integral part of our own history and should be treated as such. Yet beyond a certain romantic, if not legendary, account of the first voyage of Columbus and a reference, perhaps, to the comparatively modern episode of Maximilian in Mexico, it is the habit of the popular historian and writer of text-books to ignore, or at best superficially to touch upon, momentous happenings in our close

vicinity; happenings which were often the decisive factor in making peace or war in Europe. This neglect on the part of the writer of the paste and scissors kind is easier to understand and forgive than an almost similar neglect on the part of our libraries and collections controlled by scholarly men. The fact that many of these interesting accounts are in Spanish — a troublesome obstacle in America, where records in a foreign language are treated with scant courtesy — has been one cause for the failure to realize that the history of the West Indies, particularly the struggle of England for control, is an essential part of our own colonial records; but the difference in tongues is not a complete explanation, as many records are in English; the fault has been rather the failure to get the various facts and events of the New World in the proper perspective and to recognize their inter-dependence.

During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Spain was the strongest of European powers. In the New World Spanish rule was absolute from Florida to the Rio de la Plata on the Atlantic side, and from the Isthmus south on the western coast of South America; in fact, a papal grant had undertaken to divide the American continent between Portugal and the Spanish Crown, and the arrogant claim of Spain was contested only by a small French settlement on the St. Lawrence and in Labrador by Frobisher's adventure. The story of the great seamen of Elizabeth's reign — Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher — is almost the history of the England of their day; the battles they fought made the subsequent settlements in Virginia and Massachusetts possible. One of the determining factors which caused Spain to sign the Treaty of Ryswick in 1696 was the capture by the French of the Spanish stronghold of Cartagena on the north coast of South America — an event which increased the prestige of France and lessened that of Spain in the New World.

Of no less influence in our development were the naval undertakings under the command of Admiral Vernon in the middle of the eighteenth century, in some of which our colonial ancestors actively participated, and the subsequent victories of Admiral Rodney, which brought to a close a period during which many important battles among the European powers were fought in the Caribbean Sea.

This Society has not been among those which can be charged with a limited vision. For this reason and as a contribution to a better understanding of West Indian history, I venture to communicate a copy of a contemporary manuscript in my collection, apparently dictated by Admiral Rodney when in command at Martinique in 1762.

This manuscript, with a map of the Islands from Porto Rico to Tobago, is clearly a report sent home by Admiral Rodney. It urges the importance of the retention of Martinique by the English. The subject of the report may be better understood if it is remembered that the Seven Years' War between England and France began in 1756; Rodney was made a Rear Admiral in 1759, and in 1761 was appointed to the Leeward Island Station with Barbadoes as his headquarters; he took his post at the end of 1761 with instructions to take Martinique, and troops were sent from New York to assist in the operation. The attack against the Island of Martinique began early in January and the whole Island was captured by the 16th of February, 1762. The report explains why Barbadoes, a windward point, was used as the base of attack instead of a leeward point. In October, 1762, Rodney was made a Vice-Admiral; in August, 1763, he returned to England. Against Rodney's advice Martinique was restored to France in this same year, but twice since then, in 1794 and in 1809, the British conquered or seized the island — evidence of its strategic or diplomatic value.

A Description of the Caribbee Islands as Sent from Martinique December the 3rd, 1762

The Caribbee Islands from Grenada, the Southermost, to Anigada, the Northermost, form a very extensive chain, and require many more Ships and small armed vessels to protect them in time of war than if they were fewer and larger; they extend from the Latitude of 12 Degrees to the Latitude of 19 Degrees North; they lay in the form of a Crescent, its arch to Windward, the Center of which is Martinique which gives it this very great advantage over all the other Islands, that being the Weathermost it can attack them with more facility than it can possibly be attacked, the Wind blowing perpetually from the East, and the almost constant Lee-Currents rendering it extremely difficult to get to Windward in these Seas.

This happy Situation, its Numerous Harbours, safe Roads, and fertility of Soil, gives it the preference of all the other Islands; It has four Harbours capable to receive the largest Ships of War; Fort Royal and Sac Marine to Leeward, Trinity and Sac Robert to Windward, besides many small Harbours and the Great Bay before the Town of Saint Peter, the present Seat of Commerce.

Many of the principal Gentlemen from the English Islands have had the Curiosity to visit it, from them I learn that if inhabited by old British Subjects, in a very few years it would produce two hundred thousand Hogsheads of Sugar. The late Intendant of this Island likewise acquainted me, that during his Administration, it had one year produced near one hundred thousand; and as the French are far behind the English in the Art of Agriculture, if his Majesty should retain this Island at the peace, there would soon be a very surprizing increase in its productions; seventy thousand Negroes being wanted for cultivation with which the Island would be almost instantly supplyed from Barbadoes & our other Islands; the eagerness and strong inclination of almost all the Principal Inhabitants of the British Islands, to purchase Estates and settle here is scarse to be credited: they all look upon the Retention of Martinique as their only Security in case of a future War.

The next Island to the Northward & to Leeward withal is Dominica seven Leagues distant; it is a continued Range of Mountains which causes an almost perpetual Rain, is extremely unhealthy, as our Troops which took possession thereof too fatally experienced; it has no Harbour and but one good Bay called Prince Ruperts where his Majesty's Ships, employed in these Seas, used to wood and water at, from its Vicinity to Martinique & Guardeloupe, it would be impossible to induce any People to settle it, but them who were left in Possession of one or other of those Large Islands.

About northwest from Dominica at ten Leagues distance, and to Leeward, is the Island of Guardeloupe which some self-interested Merchants who have hired Estates in the said Island, and are in hopes of possessing, sho^{d}. it be ceded at the peace, have laboured to represent as more advantageous to Great Britain than Martinique but the very article of its being to Leeward, and the Island extending in length from the North East to the South West, and the Trade-wind constantly blowing from the East, causes such a Sea upon the shore as to make its principal place of Commerce a Dangerous and open Road, whereas the more happy Situation of Martinique which extends from the North West to the South East has a smooth Sea in its Shore, for near sixty Miles, the length of the Island.

Guardeloupe has one good Harbour Called Point Peter, capable of receiving the largest Ships of War, but unfortunately is situated

to Leeward of a continued and very extensive Range of Swampy Land which must ever cause it to be extremely unhealthy, whereas the Carenago at Fort Royal in Martinique is to Windward of the Swampy Ground and never receives any bad effects from it but during the Hurricane Months: The Swamp itself is but a few acres and in any other Hands but the French, would long since have been made as healthy a spot as any in the Island.

From the observations I made, sailing round Guardeloupe I judge that Island and Grand Terre to be equal in bigness to Martinique, from its having been conquered upwards of three Years (in which time forty thousand negroes have been imported) its production must have been very much increased, it is certainly a very fine Island, extremely fruitful, and still capable of Great Improvements, has no one advantage over Martinique but that of being sooner submitted to his Majesty's arms, and thereby enjoyed the Benefits of Commerce and Importation of Negroes to improve their Estates; while on the other Hand the Inhabitants of Martinique have been kept in a perpetual alarm, their Slaves taken from the Cultivation of their Land to be employed on the Fortifications and themselves obliged to assemble in Arms, dreading and expecting the fatal attack. This makes it impossible as yet to make any just calculation of the Difference of produce between the two Islands, either of which are far Superior to all the English Islands united.

I beg you will not impute my seeming Partiality to Martinique as being partly a child of my own; I sho^{d} look upon myself as Infamous, sho^{d} I attempt to deceive a Minister, who must be supposed to form his Conceptions of Places from Accounts transmitted him from those best acquainted therewith.

You will please to take notice that I speak throughout this as an Officer of the Marine on the Spot, who has had time to make his observations on the very great advantage accruing to a Maritime power, from being in possession of a Weathermost Island in these Seas; a late Instance is a sufficient Proof of the Importance of such a Situation, the Rendezvous for the Fleet and Army, destined for the attack of Martinique was first ordered at Guardeloupe; had so fatal an Order taken Place, Martinique had never been conquered, as it would have been impossible for so great an Armament to have turned to Windward in these Seas against the Wind and Currents; part of the few Troops that were sent from Guardeloupe having been drove to Leeward as far as St. Christophers.

I immediately on my arrival at Barbadoes (being made acquainted with Sir Jeffry Amherst's Intention of sending the Troops from America to Guardeloupe, & foreseeing the fatal Consequences of such a Rendezvous) instantly dispatched a Number of Frigates

with the most possitive orders to the commanding Officer of the Convoy to join me with the Troops at Barbadoes, notwithstanding any former Orders he might have received, the Consequence of which was That all the Fleet and Army were assembled to Windward, and were thereby enabled to put his Majesty's Commands into Execution.

Next to Guardeloupe to the North Westward & to Leeward at about 12 Leagues distance lye what are called his Majesty's Leeward Islands, Antigua, Monserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher's and a Cluster of Islands called the Virgins.

The principal Islands have been intirely cleared of Wood for many Years, & Cultivation carried to its greatest Extent throughout the whole; I cannot help owning my astonishment when (according to my Duty) I vissited them, to find how very insignificant they appeared to me in comparison to the French Islands, the whole united not bring near equal in bigness to Guardeloupe or Martinique; but I was more surprized to observe their defenceless Condition, & the almost impossibility of making them otherways than an easy prey to any Enemy who might happen to be superior at Sea in this part of the World; no strong Forts, no Redoubts, no Difficult passes to dispute with an Enemy, and only a Number of Sea Batteries calculated to keep off privateers from plundering, and to receive the Inhabitants themselves in case of a real attack, whereon little or no Resistance could be made; as all the Islands abound in many safe and good landing places, & the Country being intirely open renders it an easier prey to an active Enemy, who might sweep the whole and retire with its Plunder, before the News of such an attack could possibly reach Europe.

I do not speak of the present time, when his Majesty's Arms are Triumphant in these Seas, and in possession of the Enemys Capital Island, but only point out what may be the Consequences at the beginning of a future War, should the French be then in possession of Martinique, Guardeloupe, and have a superior Squadron in these Seas; which notwithstanding the Vigilence of the best Administration may happen to be the Case, as a Squadron from Brest may have done all the Mischief before a superior one could arrive from England; unless the certain Destination of such a Squadron should be known; the Difficulty of which is sufficiently Evident. As I have given you the best Description in my Power of the Islands to the Northwd. of Martinique; I shall now proceed to describe those to the Southward till I end at Grenada, the Extremity of his Majesty's Empire in these Seas.

South of Martinique at 7 Leagues distant is the Island of St. Lucia, it has several good Ports & Safe Roads for Shipping extending

from the N N E. to the S S W, about 45 mile in length, 12, or 14, mile in Breadth; its Inhabitants of all sorts when taken were computed at one thousand; it is yet very little cleared which makes it subject to much Rain; it is reckoned very fruitfull, and capable of the same Productions as the other Islands; but what makes its chief value is, its excellent Harbour, called the Little Carenago, a Draught of which I transmitted at the Conquest to Lord Anson: it is one of the best in the West Indies, on the Lee-side of the Island and impossible to be attacked by Shipping if fortified: It will receive Ships of War of the greatest Draught of Water, have 7 Fathom close to its Shore, and a Cove wherein a first Rate may be Careened, but till the adjacent Country be cleared of wood it must, like all other places in the West Indies, be unhealthy.

The French were so sensible of the Utility of this Harbour that immediately on receiving Information of Mr. Boscawen taking the Alcide & Liss Mr. Bompart then Governor of Martinique took possession thereof & caused it to be fortified, going himself to see his orders put in Execution; and at the same time gave Notice to the Governor of Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, that he had so done: the Fortifications still remain, upwards of 30 pieces of heavy Cannon mounted thereon, and might have given us much Trouble could the Enemy have afforded Troops for their Defence, at present all the Canon are spiked, as no Garrison has yet been settled in the Island.

The chief motive for the Eagerness of the French to possess this Island proceeds from its Vicinity to Martinique, & the Excellence of the aforementioned port sho^{d} they be possessed of both Islands they wo^{d} deprive England of every Harbour in these Seas capable of giving them Annoyance. This Island alone being the greatest check upon the French, sho^{d} they ever repossess Martinique, it being in sight of the Bay of Fort Royal, & only a few Hours Sail Distant: next to the possession of Martinique this Island will certainly be of the greatest Consequence to a Maritime Power.

South West of St. Lucia at 9 Leagues Distance to Leeward lies the Island of St. Vincent, about 40 mile in length, & 12 in Breadth; it extends from the N E. to the S W., is a Mountainous Island extremely fruitful & abounds in Rivers of excellent Water; it has no Harbours, but sev^{l} good Bays, capable of receiving Ships of the greatest Burthen. This Island affords a striking Instance of the Dependance to be laid on French Treaties, for notwithstanding they were obliged by the last Treaty of Peace to withdraw all their Subjects from the Neutral Islands, & pretended they had given Instructions accordingly, yet nevertheless they not only encouraged

their Subjects to settle upon this Island, but a Governor and proper Magistrates for each District were commissioned, & acted by authority of the French General of Martinique; whereby the Island is become very opulent, produces great Quantities of Cocoa, Coffee & Cotton (The French having wisely prohibited their planting any Sugar) has about 2000 Inhabitants exclusive of the Indians who amount to near the same Number and inhabit the Weatherside of the Island.

This Island in the whole is reckoned as wholesome and fruitful as any of the Carribees.

South West from St. Vincents about 25 or 26 Leagues distance is the Island of Grenada, between which are a Chain of Islands called the Grenadillos, some of which are Inhabited. The Island of Grenada is as large as Barbadoes about 30 Mile long and of an unequal Breadth, it extends N E. & S W. its Harbour called Carenago is to Leeward & tho' small capable to receive Ships of the greatest Draught of Water: the Island itself is Mountainous & from the quantity of wood still remaining thereon, is subject to much Rain, wch. occasions its being so extremely sickly as to be proverbiall among the other Islands: the Effect must cease with the Cause, and when cleared of wood be as healthy as the others, it is reckoned the most fruitful among all the Caribees and produces the best & finest Sugars: as yet tis but very indifferently Peopled with Whites; its Situation makes it the Key to that Part of the Spanish Main called the Carraccas, all Ships bound to Cumana, Laguira, Porto Caballo, or other Places on that Coast, being obliged to pass in sight of this Island; but from its Situation being 70 Leagues to Leeward of Martinique it can never be a proper place for the Rendezvous of his Majesty's Ships in these Seas during the French War; it being reckoned a remarkable good passage for a clean Frigate to beat up from thence to Martinique in ten Days; and then provided the Currents are not strong to Leeward: there are other Harbours in this Island which I shall cause to be surveyed.

If in this Description I have forebore mentioning the Island of Barbuda to the Northward of Antigua and Deseade, Mari-Galante & the Saints in the neighborhood of Guardeloupe, it is because they are of little Consequence; the first belonging to Sir Wm. Codrington, & only proper for Cattle, the others small appendages on Guardeloupe.

Thirty Leagues to Windward of this Chain of Islands is Barbadoes, the Weathermost of all the West India Islands, has been many Years intirely cleared, & fully planted; its Inhabitants are more numerous than all the other Islands and are at an extraordinary Expense in raising their Sugar, the whole being the Produce of

the Dung made by their Cattle, the natural Earth of the Island being very near the Rock, has long since been worn out, and from the great Expense attending Cultivation, there is scarse an Estate throughout the whole Island unincumbered with Debts, its Inhabitants are eager to possess and would soon settle a new Colony.

About 40 Leagues to the Southward of Barbadoes between the Latitude of 11 and 12 Degrees North lies the Island of Tobago, extending from the N E. to the S W. 40 mile in length and about 10 in Breadth; this Island is intirely overrun with wood, & unsettled: On my arrival in these Seas I caused it to be taken possession of in his Majesty's Name: It has many good anchoring Places & well watered, the Land in general Mountainous, its Situation makes it of Consequence, being a Weathermost Island situated near the Island of Trinidada & the Spanish Main, and is the first Land made by the Spanish Ships coming from Europe who are bound to the Coast of Caraccas, it is the Place likewise from whence the Inhabitants of Barbadoes are supplyed with Mill Timber, and in any other Hands but the English, would be of infinite Detrement to that Island.

A Squadron cruizing off Tobago & another off Porto Rico must of course intercept all vessels whatever bound to any Part of the West Indies.

Mr. BLAKESLEE read a paper on the "American Interest, Past and Present, in Japan's new Island Possessions." Owing to Professor Blakeslee's call to Washington publication in the *Proceedings* of his valuable paper was prevented.

Dr. R. M. LAWRENCE presented a photostat of an affidavit by Major Samuel Lawrence, of Groton, Mass., dated June 5, 1818, from the original document in the possessions of Mr. John Silsbee Lawrence, of Boston. At the time of the battle, Major Samuel Lawrence was twenty-one years of age; a corporal and orderly to Colonel Prescott. He assisted in throwing up a breast-work, and in forming a redoubt on Breed's Hill during the preceding night. He received two slight wounds on the following day, a musket-ball passing through his hat. Major Lawrence was near General Warren when the latter was shot. He was present at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, and stood among the veteran survivors when they were addressed by Daniel Webster during his oration on that occasion.

Mr. FRANCIS R. HART presented the following record in the case of

MORGAN *vs.* MALTHUS

CORAM REGE ROLL, KING'S BENCH. No. 2041, m. 526. Easter Term, 1 James II.

(Translation.)

MIDDLESEX, to wit, Be it known that on Saturday next after the Morrow of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the term of Saint Hilary last past before the Lord the King at Westminster came Henry Morgan Knight by John Greene his attorney and produced here in the Court of the said Lord the King then and there his certain Bill against Thomas Malthus in the Custody of the Marshal, etc., concerning a plea of trespass upon the Case And there are pledges of prosecution, to wit, John Doe and Richard Roe Which same Bill follows in these words, to wit: — MIDDLESEX, to wit, Henry Morgan Knight complains of Thomas Malthus in the Custody of the Marshal of the Marshalsea of the Lord the King, being before the same King himself, that is to say, That whereas the aforesaid Henry is a good and trusty liege of the Lord the King who now is and his progenitors and has always held due and natural allegiance towards the King who now is and his progenitors as well by sea as by land and being of good fame and name and against evil deeds piracies and robberies the greatest abhorrance and distrust And whereas also in the West Indies and other parts of America there are certain thiefs and a kind of pirates called Bucaniers who subsist and maintain themselves by piracy, burning houses and towns, and depredations and the subjects of the King of Spain and others professing the Christian religion pillaged and caused injury without any lawful authority against Divine and human laws for which kind of men called Bucaniers the aforesaid Henry always had and still has hatred Nevertheless the aforesaid Thomas Malthus not unacquainted with the premises but cunningly contriving and intending to draw the aforesaid Henry into it to the great displeasure of the Lord the King who now is to injure his good name and fame and to the great peril of life that is laid upon a pirate, On the tenth day of January in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of the late Lord the King Charles the Second at the Parish of Saint Martin-in the-Fields in the County of Middlesex aforesaid falsely and of his

malice caused to be printed spread abroad and published of and concerning the aforesaid Henry a certain false malicious scandalous and famous libel entitled 'The History of the Bucaniers being an 'Impartial relation of all battles sieges and other most eminent 'assaults committed for several years upon the Coasts of the West 'Indies by the pirates of Jamaica and Tortuga both English and 'other nations more especially the unparralled achievements of 'Sir H: M: made English from the Dutch copy written by J: Es-'quemeling one of the Bucaniers very much corrected from the 'errors of the original by the relations of some English gentlemen 'that then resided in those parts' Which same libel contained in itself (among other things) concerning the same Henry these false and malicious and scandalous words and things following, that is to say, 'This person' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'having served his time at the Barbadoes after he' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'got his liberty' (meaning the liberty of the same Henry) 'transported himself' (meaning himself the aforesaid Henry) 'to Jamaica where he' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'found two vessels of Sparks' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'that were going to seek their fortunes which he' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'thought a very good opportunity for himself to do the same Thereupon he' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'got into the Society and in a short time learnt the trade' (meaning the piratical way) 'so exactly that after he' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'had made three or four voyages' (meaning piratical voyages) 'with some profit and success he' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'agreed with some of his comrades' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'with a joint stock to buy a ship and such was the esteem which the rest had of him' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'that they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'agreed to submit to him' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'as their Captain With this ship he' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'set forth from Jamaica with an intention to cruise upon the coasts of Campeche in which voyage he' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'had the good fortune to take several prizes with which he' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'returned triumphant to his first port' (meaning the Port of Jamaica) 'At his return he' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'met with an old Gamester whose name was Mansfeildt of whom mention has already been made who was at the same time setting out a considerable fleet' (meaning pirate ships) 'with a design to land upon the continent

and make booty of all that came in his way This Mansfeildt' (meaning the aforesaid pirate Mansfeildt) 'seeing C:M:' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'return with so many prizes' (meaning the aforesaid pirates prizes) 'judged him' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'to be what he was a person of courage and conduct and therefore chose him' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'for his' (meaning the aforesaid pirate Mansfeildt) 'Vice Admiral And thus having fitted out fifteen ships' (meaning pirate ships) 'great and small they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'set sail from Jamaica with five hundred men part Walloons part French The first place where they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'landed was the Island of St. Katherine's in twelve degrees and a half of northern latitude near the continent of Costa Rica there' (meaning the Island of St. Katherine) 'in a short time they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'forced the Garrison' (meaning the Garrison of the Island of St. Katherine) 'to surrender and to deliver into their hands' (meaning into the hands of the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'all the other forts belonging to it' (meaning the aforesaid Garrison) 'All which they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'demolished but only one where they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'put a Garrison of their own and all the slaves they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'had taken from the Spaniards for it was not reasonable that they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'should keep slaves who' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'were now slaves themselves.' And in another place of the same scandalous and famous libel concerning the same Henry Morgan are contained these false and malicious words following, that is to say: 'Captain Morgan' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'finding that his predecessor Mansfeildt' (meaning the aforesaid pirate Mansfeildt) 'was dead used all his' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'endeavors imaginable to preserve the Island of St. Catherine's by reason of the conveniency of its situation to infest the Spaniards' And in another place of the same scandalous and famous libel are contained of the same Henry Morgan these false and malicious words following, that is to say: 'Captain Morgan' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'had not been above two months in the south ports of the Island' (meaning the Island of Cuba) 'before he' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'had got together a Fleet of twelve

sail and about seven hundred men part English part French Being thus reinforced they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'called a Council — for its good to do nothing rashly — what enterprise to undertake The bolder sort were for assaulting the City of Havana itself under the shelter of the night but that proposal being rejected as an attempt of too great difficulty they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'concluded to pour all their force upon Puerto del Principe whose inhabitants' (meaning the inhabitants of Puerto del Principe) 'were looked upon to be very rich as driving a ready money trade with Havana and for that the Town' (meaning the aforesaid Town of Puerto del Principe) 'had never yet experienced the courtesies of the pirates' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'being at a distance from the sea This being therefore resolved upon away they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'started to the coasts that were nearest to it' (meaning the aforesaid Town of Puerto del Principe) 'and came to an anchor in the Bay of Puerto de Santa Maria where it fell out unluckily for their design that a Spanish prisoner swam ashore in the night time and gave intelligence to the Town of their approach' (meaning the approach of the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'which caused the Spaniards immediately to hide their wealth and carry away their moveable goods. The Governor also armed all the people of the Town' (meaning the Town of Puerto del Principe) 'both freemen and slaves cut down the trees and laid several ambuscades in their way' (meaning the way of the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'But Captain Morgan' (meaning the aforesaid Henry) 'finding the ordinary passage to the Town' (meaning the aforesaid Town of Puerto del Principe) 'impassable took another way of cutting his passage through a wood and by that means escaping the ambuscades got safe to the plain that lies before the Town called la Savana or the Sheet The Governor seeing his new guests come sent a party of horse to welcome them' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'into the country thinking to overrun them' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'immediately but the pirates' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'maintained their order so exactly and made such a dextrous use of their firearms that the poor Spaniards dropped from their horses like rotten pears with their Governor for one which made the rest turn tail thinking to fly to the woods for refuge but ere they' (meaning the aforesaid Spaniards) 'could reach their

sanctuaries they' (meaning the aforesaid Spaniards) 'were most of them cut off with very little loss to their adversaries' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'who now entered the Town' (meaning the Town of Savana) 'where the inhabitants defended themselves like the true race of the Goths and Vandals for a time but hearing the dreadful menaces of the foe' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'who threatened to fire the Town' (meaning the Town of Savana aforesaid) 'and chop their wives and children as small as herbs to the pot if they' (meaning the inhabitants of the aforesaid Town of Savana) 'presently surrendered at discretion' And in another place of the same scandalous and famous libel there are contained concerning the same Henry Morgan these false and malicious words following, that is to say: 'The pirates' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'came to an anchor about a league from the Castle which the Spaniards perceiving began to fire briskly at them' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'with the biggest of their guns Next morning they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'landed and marched through a wood resolving to attack the Castle on that side but the difficulties they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'met with in their march as also the Spaniards' constant firing from the Castle made them' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'much to fear the success of that enterprise for on that side of necessity they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'must make the assault However they' (meaning the aforesaid pirates called Bucaniers) 'resolved rather to hazard all than to give it over' Whereby the aforesaid Henry to the grave displeasure of the Lord the King who now is, to the prejudice of his good name and fame and to the peril of losing his life, was brought into great dishonour with other persons subjects of the said Lord the King so that they have wholly withdrawn themselves from the society and acquaintance of the same Henry Wherefore the aforesaid Henry says that he is deteriorated and has damage to the value of Ten thousand pounds And therefore he brings suit, etc. AND NOW on this day, that is to say, on Wednesday next after the Quindene of Easter in this same Term, until which day the aforesaid Thomas Malthus has license to interplead to the Bill aforesaid and then to answer, etc., before the Lord the King at Westminster comes the aforesaid Henry by his attorney aforesaid and the aforesaid Thomas although solemnly warned at the same time does not come nor says

anything to bar or preclude the action of the same Henry aforesaid, whereby the same Henry remains undefended thereof against the same Thomas &c., by reason of which the same Henry ought to recover his damages against the aforesaid Thomas by reason of the premises aforesaid But because it is unknown by the Court of the said Lord the King here what damage the same Henry has sustained by reason of the premises aforesaid It is therefore commanded to the Sheriffs of Middlesex that by the oath of twelve good and lawful men of their Bailiwick they shall diligently inquire what damage the aforesaid Henry has sustained as well by reason of the premises aforesaid as for his expenses and costs incurred by him about his suit in this behalf And they shall send the Inquisition thereof &c., to the Lord the King at Westminster on Monday next after the Morrow of the Ascension of the Lord under their seals &c., and the seals &c., together with the Writ of the said Lord the King directed to them. The same day is given to the aforesaid Henry there &c. On which day before the Lord the King at Westminster comes the aforesaid Henry by his attorney aforesaid, and the Sheriffs of Middlesex, that is to say, William Gostlin Knight and Peter Vandeputt Knight, returned a certain Inquisition taken before them on the Twenty-seventh day of May in the first year of the reign of the said Lord the King who now is at 'le Court House' of Westminster in the County aforesaid by virtue of the Writ aforesaid by which it is accounted that the aforesaid Henry has sustained damage by reason of the premises aforesaid over and above his expenses and costs incurred by him about his suit in this behalf at Two hundred pounds and for his expenses and costs incurred by him in this behalf Twenty shillings THEREFORE it is considered that the aforesaid Henry shall recover against the aforesaid Thomas his damages aforesaid found by the Inquisition aforesaid above in the form aforesaid, and also Nine pounds for his expenses and costs aforesaid adjudged to the same Henry by the court of the said Lord the King who now is here with his assent of increase Which same damages happen in the whole at Two hundred and ten pounds And the aforesaid Thomas in mercy &c. Examined.

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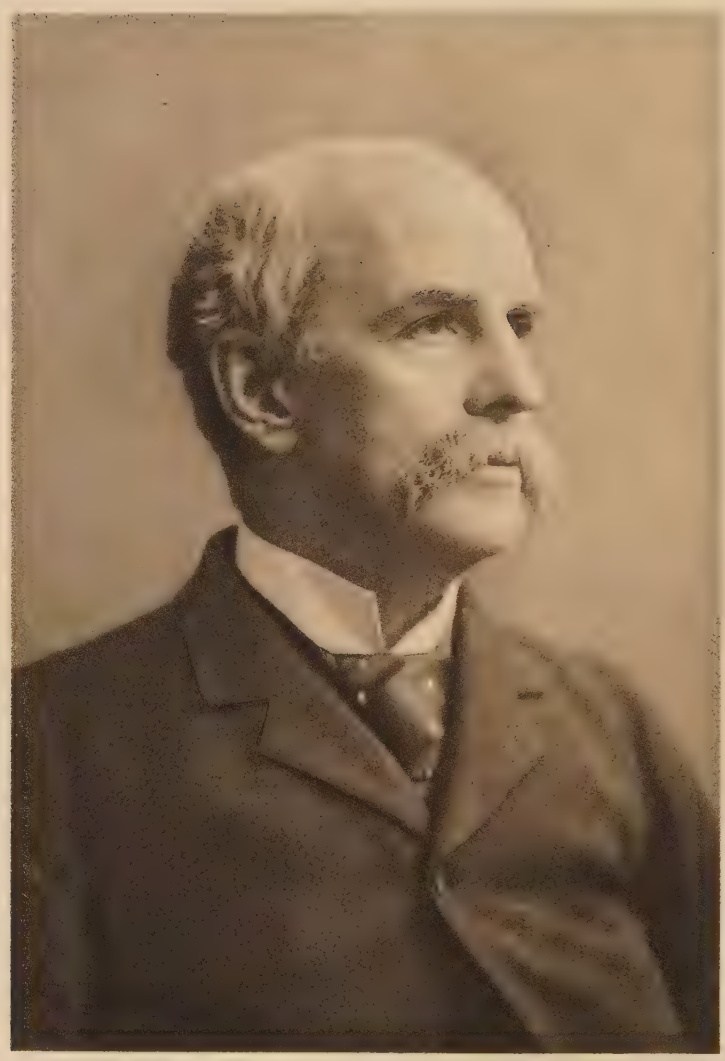

James Schouler

MEMOIR

OF

JAMES SCHOULER

By EDWARD STANWOOD

James Schouler was a descendant of a Scottish family that is still numerously represented in the region about Glasgow, where the patronymic is spelled Scouler, sometimes Scoler. In the early days of the last century there were two brothers of the family living in Kilbirchan, about ten miles from Glasgow, and still nearer to Paisley. The elder, William, owned a calico printing factory in which he employed his brother James. They were on different sides in politics, William being a Tory and James a Liberal, with inclinations to radicalism. In 1815 there was some obscure plot against the government, in which James was partially mixed up, but from which he withdrew somewhat dramatically when he discovered that connection with it involved disloyalty to the Crown. His withdrawal occurred just as knowledge of the plot came to the government. Thereupon he fled the country in order, so his grandson reports, to avoid giving testimony against his associates. He kept in hiding for a short time, and was then smuggled on a small sailing vessel bound for the United States. He expected to remain in this country but a short time and to return to Scotland when the trouble at home should be over; but in the end he made his home here.

James had married Margaret Clark, "a woman of superior endowments and family." Before he emigrated there were three sons and a daughter. The third son, the father of the subject of this memoir, was born on the last day of the year 1814. A short time after James arrived in New York he sent

for his family, having obtained employment in calico print works in and near New York. But after a year or more he found the climate of Staten Island, where he was then employed, too severe for him, and removed to Massachusetts, which is not renowned for the mildness of its climate. He was employed for some years in Taunton and Lynn, and in 1832 set up in business for himself by buying a mill-site in West Cambridge, now Arlington, and erecting a factory.

William Schouler was eighteen years old when his father took that step. Three years later he married Frances Eliza Warren of West Cambridge, a young woman of old Middlesex stock. He quickly drifted into politics and journalism. He took an active part in the campaign that made Harrison President, in 1840, and soon afterward bought the Lowell *Courier*, which he edited with great ability. He was four times elected to the legislature from Lowell. He was also much interested in the militia, in which he rose to high rank, and finally became Adjutant General of the Commonwealth, in which position he gained a high reputation during the Civil War. Previously he had become the editor of the Boston *Atlas*, in 1847, and had removed for several years to Cincinnati, where he was editor of the *Gazette*.

It was from Cincinnati that James Schouler, born in West Cambridge, March 20, 1839, entered the Harvard Class of 1859. His college preparatory course was in the Brimmer, Latin, and Chauncy Hall Schools of Boston, and at Brooks's famous private school in Cincinnati. In college he took a prominent part in the literary activities outside of the prescribed studies, chiefly as one of the editors of the *Harvard Magazine*. Devoted to music from his earliest years, he served, in his senior year, as organist of the Episcopal Church in Dedham, and also at the Boston Church of the Advent. It has been reported that Governor Banks pronounced Schouler's Commencement part, a disquisition on Dr. Thomas Arnold, "the best of the thirty or more parts" that were delivered that day.

It was due to Schouler's services as organist in Boston that he was invited, early in 1859, to accept a position in the teaching force of St. Paul's School at Concord, New Hampshire. He remained but a single year at Concord, and then returned to Boston to take up the study of law, as he had always intended to

do. From October, 1860, when he was admitted to the bar, until January, 1862, a period of fifteen months only, not only sufficed for his preliminary training as a lawyer, but afforded him time to assist his father much in his work as Adjutant General, and to write a sketch of New England life — which he himself regarded as worthy of the rejection given to it by the *Atlantic Monthly*.

In the autumn of 1862 he was made Second Lieutenant in the Forty-Third Massachusetts Regiment, a nine-months regiment, and during his term of service was attached to the North Carolina expedition. He was detailed for signal service, and saw little or no real fighting, but had a most interesting experience. He served for a time on the staff of General Naglee. In June, 1863, he returned with his regiment to Boston and was discharged.

Then began a long period of great activity and achievement, lasting about half a century, in several distinct lines of work — as a practising lawyer, as an author of legal text-books, as a lecturer and professor in law schools, and as a historian.

His law business at the outset was largely, perhaps exclusively, the prosecution of war claims against the government, and it was large and lucrative. In 1866 he made a *quasi* partnership with his father, not a member of the bar, who had lately been summarily removed from his position as Adjutant General as a penalty for having opposed the ambition of General Butler to represent the Essex district in Congress. One case which was taken up with great energy against a ruling of the War Department was carried first to the Court of Claims, at Washington, and afterward to the Supreme Court. Mr. Schouler prepared the case and argued it before both courts, and obtained a unanimous judgment from both. The decision in the case (Hosmer *vs.* the United States, 9 Wall. 432) determined the principle in the settlement of many others. Mr. Schouler's first production in legal literature dates from the time of his partnership with his father — an article on War Claims in the *American Law Review*. It was soon followed by others on kindred subjects in the same periodical.

With the year 1870 began a mass of production so large and varied that it is difficult to follow any one line consecutively. Schouler in that year issued his first law text-book, on *Domestic*

Relations. It was immediately successful. Having established an office in Washington where he passed a part of the time, he began the publication of the *Jurist*, a quarterly law magazine. He had then already finished the second volume of his history of the Civil War. In the same year, 1871, he was contributing political and personal reminiscences to a Boston paper. His *Personal Property* came out in 1872, followed during the next fifteen years by *Bailments*, *Executors and Administrators*, and *Wills*, all of which became standard works for attorneys and students.

He added oral instruction to authorship upon law subjects. In 1883 he became a lecturer, and afterward a professor of law in the Boston University Law School, a connection which lasted until 1902; and during the same period he was a lecturer at the National University at Washington, 1888–1908, and at Johns Hopkins, 1891–1908. We do not need the commendation of a generation of students to the excellence of his instruction; the mere fact of his retention of the lectureships during a full quarter of a century is sufficient proof of his success.

But it is as a historian that this Society chiefly honors him. In the field of history his work was most varied and prolific. The *magnum opus* was the *History of the United States under the Constitution* — a great work in seven volumes, produced and published in the thirty-three years between 1880 and 1913. Its merit has been universally recognized and it is unnecessary to characterize it here. In addition he published lives of Jefferson and Hamilton and several other books, besides a countless number of articles in the leading historical and literary magazines; and read papers before this and other historical societies. As a whole these productions are a striking proof of his unwearying industry. A bibliography of his work would disclose the wide scope and variety of his researches. He himself said of it in one of his papers before the American Historical Association, of which he was at one time the president: "Another writer may produce better solid works than I have done, but he will hardly be moved to produce a greater number within the same space of time, or to pre-empt a wider range of research." In the same paper he remarks — another illustration of his industry, and also of his method — that he had never made use of any assistant or collaborator, save, at times employed a

copyist to transcribe passages which he had already discovered and selected to be embodied in his work. Moreover, he never submitted anything he had written to any person for criticism or approval, he wrote everything with his own hand, and the ordinary proofreader was the only person who saw it before publication.

How seriously and reverently he regarded the work of a historian, and the qualification and spirit he should bring to it, will be evident to any one who reads an admirable series of papers, collected in his *Historical Briefs*, on Historical Grouping, Historical Industries, Historical Monographs, Historical Testimony, Historical Style, and the Spirit of Research. As a whole they constitute an almost complete course of study for one who is fitting himself to be a historian, to discover and present the truth about past events.

Mr. Schouler was elected a member of this Society on December 9, 1897. In 1904 he removed permanently to what had been his summer home at Intervale, New Hampshire, and thus ceased to be a resident member. In February, 1905, he was elected a corresponding member. He died at the North Conway Memorial Hospital, April 16, 1920. He took an active interest in the Society and contributed to its *Proceedings*. He was appointed on the Committee on Historical Manuscripts in 1898, 1899, and 1900; was a member of the Council, 1899–1902; was Chairman of the Committee to nominate officers, and presented the report of the Council, in 1902. He presented many papers, beginning with one on the Cuban Situation in 1825, in December, 1898, and ending with one on the Whig Party in Massachusetts, in November, 1916. At meetings of the Society he paid tribute to the memory of D. C. Gilman, William Everett, and Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie — the last two members of his own Harvard class of 1859, and prepared the memoirs of both of them.

James Schouler married, December 14, 1870, Emily Fuller, daughter of Asa F. Cochran, of Boston and New York. They had no children. They lived for most of their married life in and near Boston, but had a summer home at Intervale, New Hampshire, to which, as has been noted, they retired permanently in 1904. Mrs. Schouler died in November of that year. The honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon Mr. Schouler

by the National University in 1891, and by Johns Hopkins in 1902. During all his life he was a devoted communicant in the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was also a great lover of music, but in his later years was deprived of much of the pleasure of listening to it by deafness, which increased with his years.

MAY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; Mr. RHODES in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From the Estate of James Schouler, by bequest, a volume of Autographs of Eminent Americans, 1779–1809. In a note Mr. Schouler wrote that he began to collect about the year 1874, upon finding various letters from distinguished persons in the collection of his father, Adjutant General William Schouler, who died in 1872.

From Miss Eliza Winslow Eaton Holland, a number of papers, broadsides, and printed volumes of her grandfather, Lieut. Park Holland, 1774–1843, of Petersham, Mass., and Eddington and Bangor, Maine, mostly relating to lands in Massachusetts and Maine.

From Frederic Amory, an account of Beacon Hill and the Gardiner Greene estate by Francis Cabot Lowell, February 13, 1886, with plans; an account of John Singleton Copley and his family by Anna C. L. (Quincy) Waterston, several engravings and sketches, and a number of papers on the Amory, Copley, and Greene families.

From Mrs. Arthur Codman, a number of papers relating to the ownership and descent of Gullager's portrait of Washington, given by her to the Society, and to the ancestry of the Belknap family, received from her great-grandfather, Jeremy Belknap; and a biographical sketch of Judge Edward St. Loe Livermore, her great-grandfather.

From Miss Kate Jackson, by deposit, a Journal kept by William Clark on the United States Ships *Relief* and *Vincennes*, Charles Wilkes, Commander, on a voyage of discovery in the South Pacific Ocean, 1838–1842.

From Marcus Morton Smith, of Dover, an account book kept in Boston, 1720–1728.

From Dr. Robert Amory Hare, of Philadelphia, a MS. sermon by Rev. Nehemiah Hobart at a lecture in Cohasset, May 7, 1736.

By purchase, the account book of Jabez and Benjamin Dow, of Hampton, N. H., 1716–1765, containing a record of scout service and some diary entries.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Arthur Codman, four oil paintings: the portrait of Washington by Christian Gullager, of Boston, painted at Portsmouth, N. H., on November 3, 1789, where Washington sat two hours for Mr. Gullager, at the request of several persons in Boston.[1] To reward the painter for his trouble, money was raised by a raffle in Boston to purchase the portrait, and it fell to the lot of Daniel Sargent, Jun., who presented it to Rev. Jeremy Belknap, Mrs. Codman's great-grandfather, from whom it descended to her. While Washington was in Boston, on his way to Portsmouth, Gullager made a pencil sketch of him, from which another portrait was later made that was destroyed by fire in New York, in 1835. The other paintings given by Mrs. Codman are of her great-grandfather, Rev. Samuel Haven (1727–1806, H. C. 1749), of Portsmouth, N. H., and of her grandfather, Thomas Haven, and of Mrs. Haven (Mehitable Jane Livermore), daughter of Judge Edward St. Loe Livermore. Mrs. Codman also gives a past-master's masonic jewel given to her by Robert Ilsley Robison, from whom her son who died in 1894 was named. It bears the date 1567 and was brought to this country by Robert Ilsley from Scotland.

From Frederic Amory, an album of photographs of the Amory, Copley, and Greene families.

From Dr. George Cheever Shattuck, two framed photographs; one, the officers of Gen. Meade's Escort, and the other, the officers and non-commissioned officers of the First Massachusetts Cavalry, Gen. Meade's Escort, Army of the Potomac.

From Miss Sophia A. Underwood, a colored relief in plaster of Trinity Church, Boston, by George N. Faught; and eight others, by Miss Sarah W. Symonds, of houses in Marblehead, Salem, and Boston, and a woodcut of the Harvard Yard at Camdrigbe, 1877.

From Charles Torrey, a photograph of an original painting by Salmon, owned by George Uriel Crocker, of a view of Bromfield Place, Boston, made about 1832.

From Miss Eliza Winslow Eaton Holland, two sand-shakers, a snuff-box, a fan used as a parasol, three straw-splitters, a small trunk owned by Samuel Hyde of Bangor, 1815, and engravings published by Lumsden and Son, Glasgow, of Benjamin Franklin, Andrew Jackson, Sir Walter Scott, and the Duc de Reichstadt.

From Miss Elise Bordman Richards, a water-color painting of Lynde Minshall Walter, 1799–1842, founder and first editor of the

[1] 1 *Proceedings*, III. 310.

Boston Transcript, made by John R. Smith, drawing-master, in 1813; and a water-color of him in 1842, by Alvan Clark.

It was voted that Article 3, Chapter IX of the By-Laws be amended by striking out the lst clause and inserting in its place the words, "The use of the room for other purposes shall be under the direction of the Council," so that the Article shall read:

Art. 3—Meetings of the Society shall be held in the Dowse Library, if not otherwise ordered by the Council. The use of the room for other purposes shall be under the direction of the Council.

Announcement was made of the appointment of the following Standing Committees:

House Committee: JOHN W. FARLOW, FREDERIC WINTHROP, and WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT.

Finance Committee: FRANCIS R. HART, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and ARTHUR LORD.

Library Committee: EDWARD STANWOOD, CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, and CHARLES K. BOLTON.

Committee to publish the *Proceedings:* HENRY CABOT LODGE, JAMES FORD RHODES, and EDWARD STANWOOD.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The Vice-President announced the death of James Phinney Baxter, a Corresponding Member of the Society. Mr. Stanwood spoke briefly of the many interests and service of Mr. Baxter.

The Vice-President also announced the death of our Associate Melville Madison Bigelow. Mr. BROOKS ADAMS paid the following tribute to his memory:

It was I think in the autumn of 1872, when I was still a law student, that I first knew our old friend and colleague, Melville Bigelow. As I remember Dr. Bigelow, fifty years ago, he was then pretty much what he always remained, an omnivorous reader and an ideal professor, to whom teaching came as a natural instinct.

I remember Mr. Bigelow first in the old library, in the old courthouse, which was at that particular moment chiefly occupied by three remarkable men, by no means the least of whom was Bigelow himself. One of these was Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was then editing Kent; another was Nicholas St. John Green, who was then lecturing in the Harvard Law School on Torts, and, by way of parenthesis, I may say that than Green, I never listened to a greater lecturer; and the third was Bigelow himself, who was then struggling with his first law book, the precursor of many, his work on *Estoppel*.

Of these three, Holmes and Bigelow had tables appropriated to themselves, and usually loaded with books, and there, in the library, we youngsters, who had little else to do, would meet these busy men and, I fear, waste their time abominably. Whether we did or not, I recall that Bigelow, in particular, always treated me with his never failing urbanity. I do not remember a single impatient word that he ever said to me. Of these three men Green soon died, Holmes shortly became absorbed in practice and was then raised to the bench, after which he became less accessible, and Bigelow alone remained to me, of whom I kept track through life. Years passed by and I can very truthfully say that, so far as the law was concerned, Bigelow became my most intimate friend. If I proposed to write anything touching the law, I always consulted him, and usually submitted my manuscripts to him, that I might have his opinion; and he was always patient and obliging. The teaching instinct was, however, with Bigelow, always uppermost. He was not fit for a practising lawyer. He had not the litigious instinct, nor had he the instinct for business, or for money. He was a scholar, if ever a pure scholar was born on earth, and he was an instructor and not a denizen of courts. I do not suppose Mr. Bigelow ever made a dollar of money, save the meagre salary he may have earned as a lecturer in the Boston University Law School and whatever the publishers may have paid for his books; and fortunes are seldom acquired out of law books.

And this leads me naturally to speak of the two great occupations which divided Mr. Bigelow's life. From its outset, he became identified with the Boston University Law School. He taught in that, I think, nigh on fifty years. The second

great occupation was his books, and of these he wrote many. His first and perhaps his most successful professional book was *Estoppel*, which went through many editions; but he also wrote one as well known on *Torts*, which ran through no less than eight editions, and besides these another on *Negotiable Instruments*, and a fourth monumental publication, in two bulky volumes, on *Fraud*. All of these works have been and still are consulted by both bench and bar, and it is probable that they will continue to be so consulted for many years to come. But it was not on books such as these, well known as they are, that he is most widely known, or on which his fame most securely rests, perhaps the book of Dr. Bigelow's which is best known both abroad and at home is his *Placita Anglo-Germanica*. It was because of the learning shown in this book, and in other writings of this same character, that Mr. Bigelow became known as our most learned man, and the person beyond all others to whom learned strangers such as Mr. Pollock, one of the authors of the *History of English Law*, turned at once when they visited America.

From its first organization, he became identified with the Law School of the Boston University, wherein he continued teaching, almost to the day of his death, a period of nearly fifty years. More learned lawyers doubtless have lived than was Mr. Bigelow. I do not dispute the fact. But if so I have never met them, and it is only needful for any member of this Society who wishes to convince himself of this fact to glance casually at the Introduction to the *Placita* to become certain thereof.

I do not know why it should have been so. To me the phenomenon was inexplicable, but in some manner Mr. Bigelow conceived the idea that I too was learned. Accordingly he hardly had been made dean of the Boston University Law School than he urged me to lecture for him, and I finally yielded to his requests and complied, on the solemn promise on his part that he would, so far as might be possible, make good my deficiencies.

It was during the following years that I saw most of Mr. Bigelow and came to appreciate most fully the profundity of his knowledge. I gradually acquired the habit of dropping in at the Dean's office before my lecture, and of putting to him any

difficulties which I might perceive to lie in my path. And in this way I traversed with him a very large area of the law, and I wish to say most emphatically that I always found him willing and ready.

On such an occasion, he would say, "I think if you look at such a one of my books, that on *Torts*, for instance, you will find the subject you suggest treated," and so I did. Philosophically and not by rule of thumb. For Mr. Bigelow was great on the subject of the growth, or the evolution of a theory, or of an idea. Especially was he strong on the old ecclesiastical theory that the wrong, whatever it may be, is intellectual. The common law considered the act as decisive. The Church always dwelt upon the thought. There could be no crime without the mind. Heresy was a thought. Therefore the Church rightfully did not punish the ignorant heretic. And it was on precisely these questions of psychology that Mr. Bigelow was strong. One can hardly pick up a book of his, as for example his book on *Torts* or his chapters in *Centralization and the Law*, without coming upon discussions of this kind. Nor was this the boundary of his knowledge or of his modes of thought. Mr. Bigelow was not only an English lawyer, but he was well read in the civil law. He was not only familiar with the Roman law, but he was also well read in ecclesiastical law. More than all, especially toward the end of his life, he became immersed in Germanic tribal law. He was also familiar with the French and German codes, where I sadly had to admit that I had no heart or energy to follow him.

In short I can only reiterate to the Society that our deceased colleague was a man of truly gigantic learning, and the greatest critic that, perhaps, I ever met in all my pilgrimage.

But, when all is said, this forms but a small part of his power over others, of his social charm, or of the extent of his usefulness. These lay in his perfect manners, the unfailing courtesy of his address, in his marvellous temper, and in his infinite patience. It was these attributes which made him invaluable as the head of a school and which made him, I had almost said adored, by his scholars.

Professor PERRY read a chapter from his biography of Major Henry Lee Higginson, about to be published.

Mr. FORD read a paper on

REV. SAMPSON BOND OF THE BERMUDAS.

The John Carter Brown Library recently came into possession of two issues of the Boston press in 1699 the very existence of which has been unsuspected. Both are catechisms, a form of disciplinary literature of which our ancestors seemed never to grow weary, until superseded by the pictorial primer. Both are incomplete but in the fragmentary state enough remains to offer a full text, for one is a second edition of which a first issue supplies the missing text.[1]

The more interesting of the two pieces lacks the title-page — if it ever had any. For the colophon on page 8 shows that the text is complete and page 1 has signature-mark A. A sheet of eight pages, it may give all there should be, or there may have been a title-page. The half-title on page 1 reads: The Sincere Milk of the Word, | for the | children | Of Barmuda. | In A Short and Plain | Catechism. | By Mr. Sampson Bond, late Minister | on that Island. The colophon reads: *Boston*, Printed by *B. Green*, & *J. Allen*. | 1699.

Who was Sampson Bond? The first impressions obtainable are not in his favor. One of the name was alderman of Saltash, Cornwall, and certified the seal of the town and borough of Saltash[2] in 1620 at the time of the Heralds' Visitation. This was probably of a generation older than the minister, and the same person was disclaimed by the Heralds as "ignobilis."[3] The disclaimer is the more marked as the gentility of two families of Bonds, both of Saltash, was recognized. At some time, the exact year is not given, Sampson Bond, the minister, was ejected from the living of Mawgan in Meneage, sometimes written Mogion.[4] This parish, situated near the head of Helford Creek, is in the hundred of Kirrier about four miles from Helston. It is, therefore, quite a distance from Saltash

1 The Stone *Catechism* was first printed in 1684 and copies are in the Watkinson Library of Hartford, Connecticut and the New York Public Library. It was reproduced in facsimile in 1899 by the Acorn Club, Connecticut. Comparison shows that the 1699 edition is a page for page and almost a line for line reprint of that of 1684.

2 On the estuary of the Tamar and about three miles northwest of Devonport

3 *Visitation of the County of Cornwall*, 1620 (Harleian Society), 284, 294.

4 Calamy, 1. 355.

and is almost the extreme western point of England. If the father aspired to political honors he was in an unfavorable situation, as Saltash was a pocket borough controlled by the Bullers; but the son may have had enough of a politician in him to be a useful and also a troublesome factor later in his dealings with the governors of the Bermudas.

Writing from Falmouth in 1651 to Edward Winslow, then collecting money to spread the gospels in America, Richard Floyd said:

> Nowe theis maye Certifie you that presently on receipt of the bookes you sent me I caused them to be dispersed to severall freinds to stirr upp others to be liberall in Contributinge to this pious worke of propagation of the Gospele in New England & I conceive ther is a good quantity of money collected (though not so much as would have beene) if fish in our County had not fayled as itt did, & one man in our west partes put in by the gentleman to be a treasurer which is not well beloved with us, but rather feare that he will deceive you of itt — his name is Mr. Sampson Bond, a notorious Insynuatinge Hypocrite as is by moste with us Conceived & I thinke not abused by their conceipt wherefore I believe itt were best for you, to make hast to call in the money already collected for feare of miscarriage of parte of itt.[1]

The writer of the letter may have been strongly prejudiced, and it was a time when feelings found ready expression in words which appear to us more forcible than the situation required. With every allowance, however, such an introduction is not a happy one.

The history of the English in the West Indies in the seventeenth century shows a much disturbed course and an administration which is strongly tinged with lawlessness. One cause was probably nearness to Spanish settlements and consequent exposure to attack, depredation, and fanatical zeal of that grasping and cruel people. To hold their own against such a neighborhood the English settlers required great energy and quick action. Whether in aggression or in retaliation the question of right was settled by force, and without too great attention to niceties of procedure. From the day of discovery the Caribbean Sea and its circle of islands have been the chosen ground of romance, the reality surpassing any fiction. The

[1] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XXXVII. 392.

contest of European powers for possession or influence, the deeds of pirates, buccaneers (a word not known until 1690) and free-booters, of discoverers, settlers, and natives exploited almost to extinction, of efforts to save the bodies as well as the souls of the original inhabitants, efforts graced by Bishop Casas and a long line of pious and suffering workers in the vineyard — those materials have for centuries formed extraordinary pictures of social unrest and movement, and in action have exerted an influence on the course of American history as yet unmeasured, even undescribed. The very geography of the region lends itself to lawlessness.

The Bermudas form no exception to the rule of picturesque incident. Settled by a company of adventurers, and intended for profit, the opportunities for bickering between company and servants and between governors and settlers were many and from their very nature difficult to settle to the liking of all. As the number of planters and settlers increased the purely administrative questions — laws and regulations, defences and shipping — were complicated by religious differences, by the jealousy and struggle for control between the non-conformist ministers and the representatives of the Church of England, and by the more bitter contest between royalist and Puritan. William Sayle was a councillor in the Bermudas in 1630 and eleven years later became lieutenant governor for about a year and a half, again in 1643, and for a third time in 1658.[1] As early as 1642 it was charged that he was too much guided by the ministers of the place, "who have had main sway in the government the past year," and had gone to such lengths as to "make a man quite out of love with the government of the clergy, as they are called." The complaint came from the schoolmaster of the place, Richard Norwood, who had disagreed with the ministers, believing that "the manner of catechising all sorts of men and women, especially believers, that have by their lives given good testimony of their faith," was neither fit nor lawful.[2] Upon his reappointment in 1658

[1] The dates of his service are: September 15, 1641, to February 7, 1642; September 19, 1643, to February 4, 1645; and June 30, 1658, to January, 1662. A part of the interval between 1645 and 1658 he was concerned in the Puritan colony of Eleutheria, which brought him into contact with Governor Winthrop.

[2] Norwood to Governor and Company of Adventurers to the Somers Islands, February 28, 1642. *Cal. State Papers*, Colonial, 1574–1660, 323. He was the

Sayle, then in England, was denounced as "a scandalous person, and an enemy to the Commonwealth," but was exonerated so far as to be returned to the colony with a strict admonition to demean himself with circumspection and faithfulness to the King's interest and service.[2]

In 1656 the number of inhabitants was given as 3,000, with but one minister, although there had been four — two Independent and two Presbyterian — nine years before. The controversies had been well aired in one of Prynne's interminable tracts which did not bring a cessation of bickering. Sayle was superseded in 1662 by Florentia Seymour, and in the same year Sampson Bond went to the Bermudas under a commission from the Company of the Summer Islands. There is nothing to show that the lieutenant governor had any hand in the appointment, but it was not made without a question on the fitness of the candidate.

At a Quarter Court derivative for the Summer Islands Company, held in Watling Street, London, September 4, 1662, the recommendation from the Grand Committee of the Company of Sampson Bond, "a Godly orthodox and painefull Divine, as willing to be enterteyned by this Company and sent on ministry to the Summer Islands" was in debate, with a charge that "the said Mr. Bond was a Letigious person among his Neighbours." Bond was called in and examined. He admitted that being denied possession of a living in the country to which he had been approved, he had under advice sued and after three years obtained judgment in his favor. Then charges were brought against him: 1, that he had been active for the King and against the Parliament in 1642; and 2, that he was litigious among his neighbors. Without replying to the first charge he stated that he had been obliged to bring suit for his tithes which the generality of the people refused to pay during the period of his contest for possession. The company were well satisfied with his defense and cleared him of what was objected against him. He then exhibited a certificate signed by Samuel Clarke, David Bull, and Elias Pledger, ministers, that he was "a man of

author of the MS. in the John Carter Brown Library — Insularum de la Bermuda Detectio — edited and printed in 1918 by Champlin Burrage in a volume entitled *John Pory's lost Account of Plymouth Colony.*

[2] *Cal. State Papers*, Colonial, 1574–1660, 468.

approved Abilities, one who hath binn Faithfull and painefull in the worke of the Ministry and of an unblamable and holy Conversacon, And further gave them to understand, That he was ordeyned by Bishopp Hall Anno 1641, . . . And further was approved of by the Assembly of Divines as he hath to *shewe in* that behalfe." On this the Company accepted his services, named him as Minister for Devon and Pembrooke Tribes and gave him the glebe and house at Spanish Point and 40*l*. per annum salary.[1] He was also recommended to the new Governor, Florentia Seymour, for "courteous entertaynment, countenance and encouragement . . . as the eminencie of their employment shall deservedly call fit at your hands." Bond was well received by the old governor (Sayle) and inhabitants and expressed to the Company his content.[2] He had sailed from England in *The Somer Islands Merchant*, the company's magazine ship, and reached the Bermudas January 12, 1663. In the same vessel came a brother minister, Samuel Smith, to whom Bond later showed bitter hostility.

Much must have happened between 1662, the year of his going to the Bermudas, and 1669, when he intimated that he and some hundreds of people desired to remove to New York if they might have accommodation, but the records give us only an intimation. Governors and ministers reflected in their relations the disturbances in England and Bond saw no reasons for sitting quietly under the arbitrary acts of the men who enjoyed their authority for a short time to give way to successors even more arbitrary. In 1669 he believed that his position could be improved by removing from the island to a colony on the continent. He wrote to his brother-in-law John Wolstencraft, in New York, who had retired into the country, and the letter fell into the hands of a fellow Cornwall man, Samuel Maverick. He answered some of Bond's questions thus:

> You hint to him, that you have heard very well of New Yorke, which hath made you willing to come and dwell in some parte of this cuntrey (if the Lord were so pleased.) It seemes to me he is opening a wide dore to you, by inclyninge the honorable Gouernour, on the first notice he had of your thoughts this way, to tell the bearer, Capt. Stone, that if yourselfe and company came, he would order you a proportion of land (accordinge to the families you should bringe)

[1] Lefroy, *Memorials of the Bermudas*, II. 171. [2] *Ib.*, 207.

on an Iland called States Iland, about 3 or 4 leagues from this cittie, the most commodiosest seate and richest land I haue seene in America. It is probable (if his multiplicitie of buisines will permitt it) he will lett you know it by his own penn. I haue heard it from his owne mouth.

You intimate that you want directions from some person well accquainted in the cuntery, as to the priviledges and libertyes of the Inhabitants. I haue beene heare from the very first settling of N: England, by the English, and could giue you an account of all the privilidges injoyed and bondagess imposed in the severall Gouerments there, but that is needles. I shall only informe you what is allowed, and may be expected to be enioyed by the Inhabitants, within his Royal Highnes his territorries heare,

Ecclesiastical liberties are, 1. Liberty of conscience to all, prouided they rase not fundamentalls in religion, nor disturbe the publique peace. 2, Cerimonies may be used or omitted. 3, The Booke of Common Prayer may be made vse of or not.

Civill liberties are, — All freeholders, not scandalous in theire liues and conversations, are capable to vote att the election of officers, military and civill, in theire severall towneshipps. . . . The greatest want heare is good, honest, ingenious people, and some good ministers; and though (if you should come) you resolve not to be tyed to any people, yett many might reape benefitt by you.[1]

He had a friend in former Governor Sayle, now governor of Carolina. In 1670 Sayle wrote to Anthony, Lord Ashley:

"In my late country of Bermudas" there is one Sampson Bond, heretofore of long standing in Exeter College, Oxford, who was ordained by the late Bishop [Joseph] Hall (of Exeter) and sent by a commission from the Company to the Summer Islands in 1662, "under whose powerful and soul-edifying ministry I have lived about eight years last past"; greatly grieved parting with his godly society and faithful ministry. Mr. Bond has little respect from some who are now in authority in Bermudas and has been invited to Boston and New York by the Governors there, and Sayle has also written to him to "come and sit down with us," which is the most hearty request of the Colony in general, who were exceedingly affected with his ministry all the time they were in Bermudas, as was also Sir John Yeamans, who promised to procure him a commission from the King to make him their minister, but Sayle can hear of nothing done, which emboldens him to beseech his Lordship "to put on

[1] Maverick to Bond, May 30, 1669. 4 *Collections*, VII. 317.

bowels of great goodness and compassion towards your Colony here in procuring a commission and competent salary for him." Assures his Lordship that Mr. Bond is so well reported of and beloved in the Caribbee Islands that were he minister here it would gain hundreds of considerable persons to this place.[1]

In reply Lord Ashley said:

As to Col. Sayle's wishes concerning Mr. Sampson Bond, if he will go to Carolina he shall have 500 acres, 40*l.* per annum, and a house, but though allowed this to be Preacher among them, the Lords Proprietors give neither him nor Sayle authority to compel any one in matters of religion, having in their Fundamental Constitutions granted a freedom in that point which they resolve to keep inviolable.[2]

Before the reply could reach Carolina Sayle, an old man and of feeble mind, had died, leaving a reputation on which his associates and contemporaries could not agree.

Meanwhile personal differences with the governor, Sir John Heydon, may have sharpened Bond's desire to find other surroundings. Sir John was somewhat hot-tempered and arbitrary, and for ten years he ruled without summoning an assembly to advise or legislate. The tropics seemed to accentuate the faults of such a character, and as for a churchman like Bond he would not be likely to abate his independence. The governor, too, was at a disadvantage. For the minister could preach from his pulpit against the governor, certain of his audience and influence, while the governor, fretting and fuming in the council, had no way of getting his matter to the people. From the beginning of Heydon's administration Bond appears to have been in opposition. Some parishes were without ministers and were served in rotation by the ministers of other parishes. Bond refused to preach out of his parish without express order of the governor and council, though he knew the pressing needs of the vacant churches and the willingness of others to do their share.[3] He was not on good terms with some of his fellow ministers, but that does not necessarily imply that he was at fault. Finally he put in circulation a paper against Governor Heydon, and on complaint of their representation the Company directed summary proceedings on Bond:

[1] *Cal. State Papers*, Colonial, 1669–1674, 71.
[2] *Ib.*, 195. [3] Lefroy, II. 317.

Whereas Mr. Sampson Bond was Commissioned and sent over by this Company to preach the Gospell in the Sommer Islands, And to performe all offices and duties as became the minister thereof. It being a great part of the same, with all meekness and quietnes of spirit to behave himself towards all, and to endeavour the peace of the place, contrary whereunto, he the said Mr. Bond hath shewed himself upon all occasions a person of a factious and contentious spirit fomenting divisions betweene Governor and Governor, people and people, and hath made it his practise to prosecute quarrells, and to egg on the people to needles Suites of Law in the Courts of the Sommer Islands. But principally hath bin an instrument to discontent all the ministers sent over thither by the Company, by distilling into the eares of the Governor and Councell such things as might tend thereunto, And hath appeared active therein, And further hath occasioned the imprisonment of one of them for the space of 8 months. And, as if these were not crimes enough, he the said Sampson Bond hath bin an Instrument lately to present the Governor upon the Bench for some proclamacons made and issued out touching liberty to be granted to Negroes, embracing the Christian faith. And thereupon he the said Mr. Bond hath come into open court, and owned his contrivance of, and avowed the said Presentment. And further did alleadge that the breeding up of such children in the Christian religion makes them stubborne. The contrivance of which presentment this Court doth adjudge seditious, and the uttering of the prealleadged work impious. Touching manie of which things, he the said Mr. Bond hath by publick Letter from this Court Anno 1666 bin admonished, and since by manifold private letters from his friends and others, in order to his reforming, and the leaving of such practices. Notwithstanding all which, he the said Mr. Bond hath persisted in those his former courses to the endangering of the publick peace, And causeing the contempt of the Gospell. Upon full consideration of the premises, wee do think fitt and order that the said Mr. Sampson Bond be forthwith dismissed the Islands, And that you the Governor and Councell take care to see the same performed accordingly.[1]

This letter reached the Bermudas in February, 1671, and the governor at once took action. Warrants were issued to the proper officers to "dismiss the said Bond, and his Family out and off the said Gleabe, allowing him reasonable Satisfaction for whate paines or Charge is iudged he hath bin at in making of Plant Bedds, and planting of corne and potatoes since Christ-

[1] November 9, 1620. Lefroy, 329.

mas last past. And likewise for his forthwith dismission out of these Islands, there being now present severall vessels fit for accommodation bound to severall ports, more especially the Honorable Companies Magazeene shipp, bound for the port of London, in which, if Mr. Bond please to transport himselfe, it is conceived he may then be in the nearest capacity to vindicate himselfe, And recover Satisfaction, if the Honorable Company hath done him wronge, as he alleageth in his aforesaid petition."[1] In answer Bond called for his accusers and demanded the protection of the king's laws, in a petition which tastes of the lawyer rather than the minister, and two petitions for staying execution were sent up from the tribes he served.[2]

The governor and Council wrote to the Company, March 15, 1670–71, of their troubles in dealing with this troublesome minister:

> After the reading of your generall Letter wee sent Mr. Sampson Bond a copy of your order for his dismission that he might have timely notice. The next Councill Table following he sent to mee and councell a Petition fraughted with coler and spleene against your Honors and ourselves your seruants. In answer to that Petition it was by the Gouernor and councell ordered That your order against Mr. Bond should be put in execution and warrants imediately issued ordered execution of the same, there being seuerall shipps in Harbor fit for accommodacon som bound for old England and New Virginia Barbadoes, Leeward Islands and one vessell for Carolina to Ashlie river. After the warrant was out Mr. Sampson Bond made it his practice to preach against the Government which soe stirred up the people insomuch that many of them cast out vnhandsome language, saying that never an honest man would have a hand in executing the Companies command against Mr. Bond, but the Gouernor and Councell. And they were sure he would not goe out of his house vnless he was pulled out and carried awaie by force. The next Councell Table Mr. Bond appeared before vs with another Petition somewhat like his former and desired his staie. To which he was answered it could not be granted and tould he must depat in some of the shipps in Harbor, he answered the Gouernor and council in court he would not goe and if they did send him awaie, they should pull him out of his house and carrie

[1] Lefroy, II. 334. The Council had adjudged the petition to be "of dangerous consequences."

[2] *Ib.*, 336, 338.

him, and if they did soe he was a man, uttering these kind of languages in a great passion, with a kind of threatening language against som of the councell. And when the councell rose and came out they found seueral of his partie com to toune, and standing near the court, some of them being the cheefe persons that imprisoned Mr. Smith who we haue prevailed with in compliance to your honors desires to staie to the return of the magazeene ship, hoping that your Honors will be pleased to put a period to his agreevances, which are spread before you. And send another minister ouer to supply Mr. Bond's place that wee may haue more peace in the countrie: For his return will set vs all at variance for now we understand he intendeth for England with Captain Pensax [1] as he hath publickly declared in the Church last sundaie to his congregation wee not knowing whether he would complie with his Declaration of going with Capt. Pensax hee hauing the last year writt to the Gouernor of New Yorke and promised to come with his Family thither vpon which writing the Gouernor of New Yorke caused a shipp to tuch here and staie a fortnighte for the accomodacon of Mr. Bond and his Family. And when the ship came he would not goe. Afterwards he pretended to goe to New Yorke in one of our country vessells and promised if shee would staie a fortnight for him he would goe, after her staie granted, he at the same time requested leave of the Gouernor to depart these Islands, his request being granted, he tould the Gouernor he hoped he would have denied him, And that would have been a faire excuse for him to the Gouernor of New Yorke. At least by such shifts as these hee should com for England and clamor against the Gouernor or any of his councell or Mr. Samuel Smith (for whom he hath not any loue) being a person desirous to promote the designe of Mr. Smiths enemies as witness the papers herewith sent. Wee haue thought fitt to send this to your honor with his Petition to vs sent. And likewise a copy from the Records of Mr. John Stowes acknowledgment [2] that thereby your honors may the better know him, and not give credit to any of his language against vs or Mr. Smith till wee are heard to speak for ourselves. If Mr. Sampson Bond the person that said the Booke of Common Prayer was a mass Booke, or a company of packet praiers made vp by the pope and the words Godfather and Godmother be blasphemy or words to that effect [be heard] what condition shall your servants

[1] Captain Samuel Pensax, who commanded the magazine ship, the *Marigold*. He had arrived at the Bermudas January 27, 1671, and sailed for London March 21.

[2] Stowe had stated that of a paper against Governor Heydon "Mr. Sampson Bond was the sole author, procurer and contriver," and Stowe had signed it "meerlie through the said Mr. Bonds importunity." Lefroy, II. 319.

here live vnder if such practices are suffered vnder your Gouernment.[1]

Bond went in person to London, appeared before the Company with evidence and petitions in his favor, and defended himself so well that the Company reversed their order of dismissal and restored him to his position.[2]

In 1671 the assembly reported that "though there ought to be five ministers in the island, they have but one." The island was divided into eight tribes and each tribe was a distinct parish, which would seem to call for at least eight ministers. The assembly may have had in mind the Church of England. The island had reached a saturation point in population — about eight thousand souls — and between 1672 and 1679 no white immigrants from any quarter had come to it. In the latter year the religious situation was thus reported: "The Presbyterian persuasion is most prevalent, being reckoned to include two-thirds of the population, the remainder being Independents, Anabaptists, and Quakers. There are nine churches and five ministers, who are sufficient to supply all churches; each of them receives 40*l.* a year from the Company, a house, and two shares of land" — about fifty acres.[3] With only one staple product, tobacco, a trade which could not much have exceeded the £10,000 a year named in the report, and four merchants, the net return to the planters was not

[1] Lefroy, I. 692.

[2] *Ib.*, II. 368. "And as vnto the other charge, in the said Order Comprised, That the said Mr. Bond had been an Instrument lately to present the Governor upon the Bench for some Proclamations made and issued out touching liberty to be granted to Negroes imbracing the Christian faith. . . . The said Committee are satisfied by the severall Evidences read unto them, that the Negroes taking occasion from the Proclamation set forth by the Governor, touching their liberty, but besides the intent thereof may Committ many Insolencies against there Masters and Mistresses, was a necessary ground for presenting the paper Entitled A Publick Grievance to the Grand Inquest, but withall the said paper was presented only by Mr. John Stowe, and subscribed with his name . . . And that Mr. Bond was not the Author of the said presentment, or did owne it in the Court as he is Charged to have done."

In November, 1679, the Company again discharged Bond from service and he was to be ordered to quit his house and glebe, but in March following he was again restored, having once more obtained support from many on the islands. Lefroy, II. 483, 500.

[3] *Cal. State Papers*, Colonial, 1677–1680, 394. In 1684 the Company owed Bond 200*l.* and on the restoration of the King the money allowance to ministers ceased and they were supported by the glebe land and voluntary contributions. *Ib.*, 1685–1688, 395.

large and it was fortunate that the Company paid the allowance to the ministers. Perhaps the Company was backward in so doing, and under economic pressure Bond looked elsewhere for employment. He had visited Boston, but the precise year cannot be known. It is stated, upon what authority I do not learn, that he returned from New England in 1674.[1] That he was in Boston before December, 1679, the following letter to him from Increase Mather shows:

Concerning your call from the old church here, I am at some stand what to say. I know it cannot but be a great objection and discouragement in your way, that so many of the church, and those in some respects the most considerable persons amongst them, doe not act in this Invitation; and there is reason to doubt that it will be a great discouragement unto them that now may doe (as Mr. Allen informs me) onely invite you to come again upon further trial. To mee it seems hard that a man of your years, soe well known in the world and whose gifts themselves have had such experience of, must now [be] tried whether fit for them or no. The greatest objection which I ever had as to your settlement there, I acquainted you with when last in Boston, lest there should be some publick contest between yourself and the Elders there, which would greatly tend to the disgrace of the Gospell; but you did abundantly satisfy in that matter. If therefore it shall please the Lord to bring you hither, you may rest assured that I shall (the Lord helping) doe what is in me to strengthen your hands in the work of the Lord. I return you many thanks for your profitable labours in our congregation when last with us. Thus presenting respects (mine and my wives) to yourselfe and Mrs. Bond, I beseech the Lord to be with you, and to direct you to doe as shall be most for His glory and your own everlasting comfort.[2]

Bond had thus been in Boston and so preached as to receive an invitation from the First Church whose minister, James Allen, required assistance. At the time of Mather's letter he appears to have been in the Bermudas; but if so, matters moved slowly. On September 26, 1682, nearly three years after the letter of Mather, he was invited to the office of assistant preacher in the First Church, but, writes Emerson, "the vote, for some reason, was never carried into effect."[3] Less than

[1] Lefroy, I. 695.
[2] Dated, December 1, 1679. 4 *Collections*, VIII. 96.
[3] *Historical Sketch*, 134.

two months later Cotton Mather writes to a friend: "But in the Town there has been a very great Disturbance, by Mr. Bonds coming hither; from whence he is now gone again, under the quality of a Snuffer."[1] Hutchinson had access to a manuscript, since lost, from which he learned that Bond was discovered in preaching a sermon other than his own, and "presently after removed to Berbados."[2]

Not to Barbados but to the Bermudas, where he became so obnoxious to the governor — Richard Cony by name — as to be placed under bonds for his good behavior. He had been deprived of his land and 40*l.* a year, and declared that his bond became void on the death of the King. He had joined with another minister, Henry Vaughan, who had suffered in the same way, and both were enemies to the Church of England, yet so far from pleasing others as to be called "hirelings" by the Quakers.[3] He was more than a match for the Governor who admitted that: "Mr. Bond is a secret enemy to the quiet of this country; What to doe with him I know not; It is vain to imprison him, hee hath the turbulent spirits of the Country for his friends." In fact the islanders were playing church and politics just as those in the mother country were doing, and the Governor, in asserting his authority and in attempting to obey the instructions his far distant superiors framed for him, ran counter to the popular will. Cony gave way to a successor in 1687 charged among other things not to appoint a minister without a certificate from the Bishop of London, to whom belonged ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the islands. That would prevent recognition of Bond, who was still preaching in Pembroke parish on the island in 1689, when his salary was 15*l.* a year, payable in money or in tobacco at current rates. The next trace of him is in this discovery of a *Catechism* printed in 1699, in which he is described as "late Minister" on the island. Was he living at that time, or dead? He has left his name in Bond's Bay, at the end of Pembroke glebe, once a favorite ship-building place.[4] It would appear that he was not so bad as the authorities of the island sought to picture him,

[1] 4 *Collections*, VIII. 388. A "snuffer" was one who snuffed or sniffed disdainfully.

[2] Hutchinson, I. 427 *n.*

[3] *Cal. State Papers*, Colonial, 1685–1688, 102.

[4] Lefroy, I. 694.

and he had a sufficient following among the islanders to uphold him in his contest with the governor. Shortness of temper and great freedom in language were too common in the colonies to condemn a man, and Bond was of a type of clergyman and colonist just as the governors who sought his banishment were of a type of administrator. Coming into opposition the inevitable followed. That the colony survived such an acute form of civil strife can be explained by regarding the contestants as indulging in high talk and undue exaggeration. The right and the wrong of the matter were equally divided between them. After so stormy a career it is strange that nothing is known of his later years and work; he has passed entirely out of record.

Fortunately our knowledge of Bond is not limited to these few references in contemporary records. On an island of some eight thousand souls, of whom only four hundred were planters and one-third were slaves, the ministers engaged in politics and controversies, as acrid as they were at times exciting. As in Barbados, the Quakers on the Bermudas, transported from England to get rid of them, were a source of annoyance to the administration and churches. In their new-born zeal these people went far to bring the government into contempt and the churches to naught, and efforts to restrain them only increased their desire to compel a hearing of their peculiar doctrines. In the West Indies the question of defense was a serious one; the Quakers refused to bear arms, attend drill, or contribute to the support of the fortifications. They would not serve on juries or hold office. They buried their own dead. So far was this carried that a Quaker who prepared for government a map of Barbados omitted all forts and churches, of both which he and his co-believers made much scruple.[1] Their singularity and obstinacy made them difficult subjects and neighbors, yet zeal was their worst quality, for they set no bounds to their behavior when antagonized.

In 1678 Bond, then teacher in Pembroke-Tribe, figured largely in a dispute with some Quakers of the island. He relates the circumstance in a volume of one hundred pages, of which the title is as follows: A | Publick Tryal | of the | Quakers |

[1] *Cal. State Papers*, 1677–1680, 536.

in | Barmudas | Upon the first Day of *May*, 1678. | *First*, The *Charge* against them was openly read containing these Particulars: As | 1. *That a* Quakers *pretended Saviour within him, is not the true Christ*, | *but the* False Christ, *the* Devil. | 2. *That the main end of the* Quakers *Meetings in these* Islands, *is to make the* Lords Christ, *His* Holy Spirit, *His* Angels, *and* Apostles, *all Lyars* | *and False Witnesses of God.* | 3. *That the* Prim-Principles *of a* Quaker, *are the same Held and Pro-* | *fessed by the* Beasts, *which* Paul *fought with at* Ephesus. | *Secondly*, The *whole Charge* being Proved by the Testimony | of the *Holy Scriptures:* was found by the *Sheriffs*, and | *Justices of Peace*, a true and just *Charge.* | *Thirdly*, Being found *Guilty*, they are here *Sentenced*, and | brought forth unto the deserved *Execution* of the *Presse.* | By Samson Bond late Preacher of the Gospel in | *Barmudas.* | . . . | Boston in New England: | Printed by *Samuel Green*, upon Asignment of *Samuel Sewell*: | 1682.

In "The Preface to the Christian Reader" the origin of the book is explained as follows:

Being lately informed, that the Quakers *had left a Paper* (with a Gentleman in these Islands) *intimating a chalenge to the* Ministers *here, viz.* Whether the Ministers God, or the Quakers God, were the true God; *little notice was taken of this their Folly: in a short time afterwards, a* Justice of the Peace *acquainted me, that a* Quaker *brought him a Letter, and would have him deliver it unto me, but he refused to receive it from him: And some few dayes after this, an* honest Neighbour *told me, that the* Quakers *had reported up and down the Countrey, sc.* That I would as soon take a Bear by the Tooth, as Dispute with them: *and withal, that thereby the* Leading Quakers *did confirm and increase their party: Hereupon I sent unto them* (a Synagogue of Libertines) *the charge in the* Title Page *asserted*, [Being Answers to three short Questions.] *And in the Paper* (which was sent the 15th, day of *April* 1678.) *they were informed, that I would be ready to prove* (from the Holy Scriptures) *the charge against them: upon the modest motion of any one or more* Quakers *in these* Islands, (*on any* Lecture-day *in* Devonshier-Tribe Church) *in order to a* Regular *and* Peaceable *Disputation, for the investigation of the Truth of the true God; which* Paper *the* Quakers *received and accepted. And according to the general Directions therein given, they came* (the first day of *May* following) *to the place assigned*, (but without giving me any special notice of it,) *Then* Francis Estlack, *a* Teacher *amongst*

them, moved for a performance of my promise, in reference to the Charge (which he called a Chalenge) *under my hand against them: I forthwith told him, that I was ready* (by Christs help) *to do it: howbeit, by the way (as I told them) I thought it fit to signifie unto them,* sc. *That as they had accepted the* Paper *which I had sent to them, so they had thereby bound themselves to all the terms and conditions therein expressed: as* Namely. 1. *That the Disputation is to be Regular; that is to say, I am (in the first place) to prove the whole* Charge, *without any interruption from any one of you; That then any one or more of you may (without interruptions from me) answer my Arguments, or give your Assent.* 2. *That the Disputation is to be* peaceable; *that is to say, one person only* (at a time) *is to Answer; That the Disputation may not end* (as usually such kind of Disputes have done) *in an unprofitable confusion, but to the satisfaction of the numerous, and judicious Hearers: And that at the end of all,* They *may judge (according to the* Scriptures of truth) *between you and me: Let me here pray the* Reader *to take notice, that not any thing said by me (touching the* Regular *and* Peaceable Disputation) *was gain said by any of them, whose* silence *was* (by all the Hearers) *taken for their full consent: yet, notwithstanding; herein, they declared themselves most unfaithful, for they frequently interrupted me, more especially, by casting in impertinent objections, ere I had half-answered this or that Scripture, which some one or other of them had proposed; thereby in design* (as I thought) *to obstruct the special matter, ready to be uttered for the satisfaction of the Attentive Hearers; which urged me* (as I must confess) *unadvisedly to say, that what I had, and should then have declared, I would cause to be* Printed, *that full returnes might be given to the objections made, and Scriptures* wrested *by them: saying,* If I could not be heard I would be read: *here withal, I cannot deny, but that I have in the returns, inserted sundry things from judicious* Authors (for confirmation) *or further explication which I might not then have alledged, though I had not met with any interruption at all: And forasmuch as some of them have* (as I am informed) since *said,* that their business was not managed aright by them, and that some things were forgotten to be spoken: *not only those but all other things which might seem for their advantage, I have* (in their due places) *set down and answered; upon the whole I do assure the* Reader, *I should not have given myself this trouble; had they not* (by their manifold interruptions) *provoked me to make that inconsiderate open promise as above: concerning which many of the* Hearers *have since been my frequent* Remembrancers; *and probably others may be ready* (on default of performance) *to reflect slanderously upon me, whose* reviling rudeness *is but too well known:*

And so Farewel, *SAMPSON BOND.*

This insuing Discourse had been Printed sooner, had not Mr. *John Foster* (the Printer) been disenabled by a tedious sickness, of which he Died.

That Bond's account of the public discussion was not wholly fair is shown by Estlake's[1] rejoinder and testimony, supplied by his colleagues. Estlake claimed that due notice had been given to Bond:

After I [Estlake] had received his Paper, and shewed the same to Friends, who considering of the same, and finding his promise, that he desired a regular Dispute, Friends generally determined to meet him at the place appointed; whereupon I writ a few lines to the said Priest, to signifie our Acceptance & our intents to meet him; and sent the Paper by his next Neighbour, who brought me back an answer. Beside the matter was made every way so publick, that when the day came the House was greatly filled, from all parts (almost) of the whole Island, which is not usual on their Lecture days.

But when we came, expecting to have a regular Disputation, (viz) that we should have had liberty to have answered to the Charge along as he went, we found it quite another thing, as doth appear in his *Preface.*

For his intent was to bind us down in silence, until he had quite finished his whole work intended, which I perceived by the time he spent in the answer to his first Question, he would have wearied out the Peoples patience, so that they would hardly wait to hear any return.

And Secondly, The Peoples Minds would have been so stuffed with his multitude of Arguments, Slanders, Lies, and false Accusations; that there would not have been room for Truth to get any entrance.

And lastly, it tended to prevent and stop us, so that we should not find where to have an entrance to make any orderly reply to any thing he spake; for which cause it was that I stopt him when he had ended his first answer, for which he charges us with Unfaithfulness,

[1] Francis Islie alias Estlack was complained of in 1660 for refusing to bear arms at the exercising of soldiers. Was admonished to reform, but if he in future refused, "hee as likewise anie other of the same judgement are to lie bound necke and heeles together during such exercise . . . and in case of an invasion of an enemie to be forsed to fight in the Front thereof." He was so bound in 1665. Wilkinson and he were fined for absence from musterings, 1666. Lefroy, II. 137, 228.

who never made him no such promise, as to give him such liberty as he required.[1]

The debate was conducted as might have been expected, neither side following a line which could produce satisfaction. The methods in disputing of Archbishop Laud were imitated and enlarged by Judge Jeffreys, and Bond followed the example of Laud with every desire of adopting those of Jeffreys.

Appalling as are the hundred pages of the pamphlet there are some touches of humor. Bond was interrupted by Francis Estlake (pronounced Islay) and expostulated with him saying, that such interruption was contrary to agreement, but without effect: "his Sepulchre being opened, he refused to shut it," and Bond was obliged to let him have his way. Yet when Bond interrupted Estlake he defended himself on the ground that he "did not interrupt, but help him" [2] Naturally Bond had little respect for the methods of his oponents in argument and states that he "has filed off much of the *Rust* and *Ruggedness* of his expressions, which often wearied the Christian Hearers: For it was not only his, but also his *Fellow-Disputants* course all along, here and there to steal, and strangely to disorder, (nay to *dismember*) Scripture words, out of the *Evangelists*, and the *Apostles*, thereby endeavouring to cover themselves from being discovered" [3] — a dangerous and designful practice. Nor was the language used by Bond selected for soothing purposes. He asked one of his opponents: "Why shouldest thou not be whipt by the *Christian Magistrate*, for this thy notorious and open Blasphemy?" [4] Their practices he set forth in this language:

That they acknowledge no other Baptisme, then of the Holy Ghost, and of Fire (which makes many of them (as is supposed) so hot, two *Wives*) calling it their internal warmth, and spiritual refreshment: nor no other Lords Supper, than their daily Feasts of fat things, which (as they dare say) feed them with heavenly joyes, glories, and unspeakable delights; often attended with a

[1] Estlake, *The Truth of Christ Jesus*, 49. In 1667 Estlake "in the twilight or night, did repayre to the house of Mr. Hen: Vaughan, Minister, and at those seasons aforesaid, did foment severall threatening speeches, to the terror and affrightment of his Family with predicting destruction to the Family," and later made an attack on Vaughan's church. Lefroy, II. 250.

[2] Page 5.

[3] Page 6.

[4] *Ib.*, 59.

dissembled kind of *canting-hummings* within: a new kind of charm to seduce the itching ear, the soft head, with unscriptural novelties: so much for their internal and invisible Sacraments.[1]

Some digressions from the argument are of value in measuring the latitude of Bond's assumed privileges in printing.

Since that time [i.e. of the public debate], I have been informed of the occasion, which invited these words from the *sad-Quaker:* it was thus, discoursing of the old *Brigham* (a man of the *fifth-Monarchy* persuasion) who said, *he hoped to live to see Jesus Christ on the Earth, and to shake him by the hand;* then *F[rancis] E[stlake]* said, But he (*sc. Brigham*) should be first sure, that Jesus Christ had a hand: *Bethels Wife* then told him, that Christ had now a hand: for I do (said she) Believe that Christ hath now the same body in Heaven, which he had when he was upon the Earth: at this expression of her Faith, this *frank Quaker* was offended, and could not forbear, but in plain terms, told her, *that she was a Blasphemer,* (or, *had spoken Blasphemy*) and withal he further said unto her as above, *To wit, That if she believed in any other Christ, then in that Christ which was within her, she would be damned:* O most horrid *Quakerisme*, dig'd out of the *bottomless Pit*, from whence thou has received thy *Ordination* to be a Teaching, Seducing, and Lying *Quaker*.[2]

The doctrine of the Quakers of the inner light and their asserting that Heaven as well as Hell was within them could not be accepted by any other sect, and Bond triumphantly charged "that he makes justification from sin, not only a work within him, but to be daily wrought in himself by measure, or degrees, which assertion of his, is directly contrary to the manifold Scriptures of truth."[3] To Bond the Quakers' pretended Saviour within him was the false Christ, the Devil. Therefore it followed "That the main end of the Quakers Meetings in these Islands, is, to make the Lord Christ, his Holy Spirit, his Angels and Apostles, all Lyars and false Witnesses of God."[4] Finally, "That the Prime Principles of a Quaker, are the same which were held and professed by the Beasts, that

[1] Estlake, *The Life of Christ Jesus*, 66.
[2] *A Publick Tryal*, 22.
[3] *Ib.*, 31.
[4] *Ib.*, 54.

Paul fought with at Ephesus." [1] From such arguments only one result could follow:

> Having thus Answered, I expected some return; but they were all silent: Thereupon Capt. *John Hubbart Sherrif*, with the *Iustices of Peace*, (as *Representees* of the Christian part of the Assembly) came forth towards me, and openly declared, *That they were fully satisfied with my Proofs and Answers:* The *Quakers* being thus regularly found *Guilty* of the whole charge; the *Vast Assembly* was forthwith peaceably dismissed.[2]

The Reverend Bond was not satisfied with this verdict, recorded on his page 75, but he must add twenty-four more pages of discussion of the Quakers' erroneous principles. Fortunately it is not necessary to follow him in his wanderings among his texts. We may utter a pious wish that his hearers and readers of his day found his arguments more juicy and profitable than they appear to-day.

If he imagined that his verdict and judgment would be accepted by the Quakers he was greatly deceived. There was no press in the islands and that of Boston would hardly be favorable to Estlake and his associates. So they were obliged to send to London, where their tract appeared with the following title: A | Bermudas Preacher | Proved A | Persecutor | Being a Just | Tryal | of | Sampson Bond's Book, | entituled, A Publick Tryal of the Quakers, &c. | Fraught with Fallacies | False Doctrine, | Slanders, Railings, Aspersions, Perversions, and | other Abuses, herein Detected, Disproved and Wiped off. | And that the True Christ is Owned by the People called | Quakers, plainly Made Manifest. | . . . | London, Printed by John Bringhurst at the Sign of | the Book in Grace-Church-street, 1683.[3]

[1] Estlake, *The Life of Christ Jesus*, 66.

[2] *Ib.*, 75.

[3] A copy is in the John Carter Brown Library. It is composed of three parts. In the first part is an address to the inhabitants of the "Bermudas" by Estlake, dated the 11th of the 3d Month, 1678; a replie to Bond by William Wilkinson, dated, Bermudas the 1st Month, 1683; "A brief | Touch | of the | Deceit | and False Doctrine | of | Sampson Bond," signed "R.R."; "Something further in Answer to | Priest Bond's | Lyes, Ignorance and Blasphemy, | In his Book, ..., "by John Tysoe. The second part, paged continuously with the first is Estlake's "The | Truth | of | Christ Jesus, | With the Professors thereof in the Island of | Bermudas, | Commonly called Quakers) | Cleared from the Three Ungodly False | Charges charged upon them by Samp. Bond (Teacher | in the said Island)

Estlake speaks with moderation and defends the Quakers in general in their beliefs rather than himself in particular. Yet he intimates pointedly that Bond in the discussion had not conducted himself as might have been expected— "he did stop and hinder me that time by his Mocks and Scoffs, and deriding Speeches, and clamorous Noise; altogether unlike a *Preacher of the Everlasting Gospel*"[1]—a description which bears the marks of being true. Wilkinson would not have made reply if Bond had used softer terms of him instead of abusing him and the truth, using reviling speeches, and calling him a "prater"; yet Wilkinson indulges in no abuse himself. R. R., on the other hand, opens his remarks with the not overpacific sentence: "The mighty strength (as he thinks) of this operative, blind, embondaged *Sampson Bond*, lies in his 17th and 66th page (wherein he grindes and grins against the Truth of the Gospel." . . .[2] and soon, with a wealth of comparison and imagery that would enrich a professor of rhetoric, if only it could be reduced to order. And again: "Now here this Great *Greek* THRASONICAL SAMPSON, boasting over unlearned Men with his *Metonymyes* and *Syllogisms*," who ought to be ashamed of his "*Metonymical*, *Sarcastical*, *Synecdochical*, *Metaphorical*, *Syllogistical*, *Samsonical* Monsters he produces to fight with" — one need not quote further. John Tysoe denounces Bond as a "blasphemous Wretch" — thus returning his own words — a "Blind guide, who leads all into the Ditch that follow thee," one who would "through his malice and envy stir up the Magistrates of *Bermudas* to Whip and Persecute a People that lives peaceably amongst them," one "like a proud Pharisee, whose Tongue is at liberty, and pratest like a Perrot in thy Book, which is stuft with Lies, Ignorance and Blasphemy, against God and Christ, his Holy Angels, Prophets and Apostles;

in a Book, Entituled, | The Quakers in Bermudas Tryed, &c. | In which Book are found many Blasphemies, Slanders, false Accusations, false Glosses and Interpretations, herein | searched and noted in their particular Pages, and examined and | confuted with as much brevitie as the matter could well bear. | By a Friend and lover of the Truth in the same Island, called, | Francis Estlacke. . . . To this he has an "Appendix," with independent paging and signature-marks, which I call the third part. Though John Tysoe is said to have suffered persecution in the Bermudas there is no allusion to it in Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books*, where titles of six tracts by him, published from 1662 to 1683, are given, and the name is spelled "Tyso."

[1] *A Bermudas Preacher*, 99. [2] *Ib.*, 19.

which thou most falsly chargest upon others, in the 54 page; but art really found guilty thyself." If it came to flinging epithets, strong rather than convincing, Tysoe was a match for Bond, and in biting personality more than his equal. His final paragraph rises to the pitch of anathema:

For God hath opened a Spiritual Eye in Thousands, which see you thoroughly, and can buy your Merchandize no more, for the Light shines, and will shine more and more unto the perfect day, and Thousands shall come to the brightness of its rising, and we know why you are Angry, and Rage, and Blaspheme at the Light; it is because it discovers your Kingdom of Darkness, and your holes where you have hid your selves, but your Rage and Fury signifies no more than the Doggs barking at the Moon; for the Light will shine, and the Day will dawn, and your Darkness must fly away; although you may rove [rave?] and make a noise like the Sea, yet your *Egyptian* Tongue must be dryed up, a way hath God prepared for his ransomed and redeemed to walk in; and the Wayfaring-Man, though a fool to your earthly-wisdom, yet he shall not err therein, Glory to the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb forever, who sits upon the Throne, who is and is to come from Everlasting to Everlasting, who is the antient of Days, who shall stand last upon the Earth, when all your Foggs and Mists of Darkness shall be driven away into the Pitt from whence it came; Blessed be the Name of Christ Jesus who lives for Ever.[1]

Estlake was not content to rest with the brief reply of nine pages written in 1678. The second part of *A Bermudas Preacher* is taken up with a treatise by him, with a separate title and itself comprising an essay of forty-four pages on *The Truth of Christ Jesus* and an "Appendix" of thirty-eight pages.[2] This essay was directly called out by Bond's publication and is cutting if not slanderous in its free characterization. He charged that Bond was "put by a Benefice of 250*l.* a year upon the Kings coming in," [3] and Tysoe had also applied to him the word "hireling." On Tysoe, Estlake throws some light:

[1] *A Bermuda Preacher*, 44.

[2] *The Truth* has paging and signature-marks in continuation of those of *A Bermudas Preacher*, but the "Appendix" is independent in paging and signature-marks, yet was printed at the same time as the first parts of the tract. *The Truth* is dated, "Written in Bermudas, the 25th Day of the first Month, 1683."

[3] *The Truth*, 61.

And *S. Bond* (to bring in, with the rest of your cruelty and inhumane Practises) I query of thee, Wast thou not the man who instigated and stur'd up the Magistrates in *Burmudas* to take up *John Tysoe* with a Warrant, and carried him from Constable to Constable through great part of the Island to your Town-Prison, where he was kept till Banished off your Island? a Man, whom you had nothing to lay to his charge, Worthy of Bonds, but for coming upon your Island to visit his Friends and people of the Lord, who were gathred from your persecuting Spirit, and thy Idolatrous Worships; to wait upon the Lord in the Spirit of Truth and Righteousness, at which (*Cain* like) you were angry, and thou in thy malice wast stirr'd up to cry out against this Inocent man; (like thy Brethren of old, *Help men* of Israel, *the turners of the World upside down are come hither also*) who, as aforesaid, came with the Love of God in his heart to visit his Friends, and did desire the well-being of you all, which is Sixteen years ago; and how thou hast behaved thy self since it is known to some; but now thou hast made thy self manifest in a large measure, in thy ungodly, Blasphemous Book, which I hope will be a means to open the Eyes of some that yet see thee not.[1]

All this comes nearer to New England than would seem possible, for New England's name among the Quakers was a stench, while Bond had had some connection with New England and his book had been printed at Boston. So he was open to attack on that score. Tysoe twits him with wishing to stir the magistrates in Bermudas to persecution, "like thy Brethren in *New-England*, who have out-done the *Pope* that we read of in our day, in Persecution, in Rifling Houses, in Spoiling of Goods, Whipping, cuting off ears, Banishing upon Pain of Death, and Murdering and Drinking the Blood of the Servants and Martyrs of Christ Jesus; whereby they are become a by-word to the Nations."[2] That Bond's book was printed at Boston leads Tysoe to say:

It is very like such a Book might be acceptable in *Boston* in *New-England*, amongst his Brethren, the Priests and Professors in *Boston*, who encouraged the Printing of *Roger Williams* Blasphemous Book, who said (to wit) *Roger Williams, That Christ was a Curruptible Man, and his Blood was Corruptible.* Fit Companions for Priest *Bond*, and Priest *Intret Madder*, who said, "*He had nothing that was Good* in him:" But miserable Sheep are they who have no better

[1] "Appendix," 34. [2] *Ib.*, 42.

Shepheards then *S. Bond* and *I. Madder:* But we do not charge the tender Hearted and moderate People in *Boston*, but such as have been Persecutors and Enemies to the Appearance of God and his People, and have besmeared themselves with the Blood of the Innocent, which will not be wip'd of in Generations to come, no more then Caines who slew his Brother, because his works where Righteous, and his Evil.[1]

Estlake also gives attention to this particular connection.

And now, we understanding, that *Sam. Bond's* Book was Printed at *Boston*, in *New-England*, by *Sam. Green*, upon the Assignment of *S. Sewall;* and we being sensible, how forward the *New-England* Priests and Professors are to tolerate and Print such lying and slanderous Books against us the people of God, in scorn called *Quakers*, to cover their Wickedness in their persecuting of us, (who *Hanged four* of the said people called *Quakres*, *Cut of the Ears* of others, *Branded with* an *Hot-Iron*, *Banished* many upon pain of *Death,* and *Imprisoned*, *Beat* and *Cruelly Whipt* many; yea, one *William Brend, till his body was like a Gelly;* and besides the *spoiling of Friends Goods*) who promoted the Printing, and tolerated *Roger Williams's* filthy, slanderous Book of Lies against us; We have brought forth, and added some of *R. Williams's* (one of their old Priests in *N. E.*) false and Blasphemous Doctrines concerning *Christs Body and Blood*, which he asserted and maintained openly, at the dispute at *Rhode-Island* in *N. England*, to the shame of true Christianity, as follows:

These are four Pages, taken out of *G. F's* and *S. B's* answer to *Roger Williams*, Entituled, *A New-England Fire-Brand quenched*, part 2. Page 508. [208] and seq. Printed in the year 1679.[2]

What follows is a discussion of no interest to us. On the whole a dispassionate review of the discussion rather favors the Quakers, and the quality of Bond's abilities is not sufficiently developed to enable a final judgment to be given.

[1] "Appendix," 43.

[2] This was a book by George Fox and John Burnyeat in answer to Roger Williams' *George Fox digg'd out of his Burrowes*, printed at Boston by John Foster, 1676. The *New England Fire-Brand* appeared in London, in 1679.

JUNE MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., Mr. LORD in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Edward M. Williams, of Northfield, Minnesota, an account book of her grandfather Levi Tinkham, of Middleboro', 1812 and 1819, and his diary kept in 1831.

From the estate of Miss Elizabeth Seaver, of Lexington, a letter of Rev. William Emerson to her grandmother, Abigail Whitney, September 1, 1790.

From Miss Annie S. Harlow, of Philadelphia, some Harlow family papers connected with Massachusetts history, 1788–1920, also two volumes of records of the Cambridge Franklin Debating Society, 1827 to 1831, and a volume of records of the Cambridgeport Debating Society from 1834 to 1836.

From Miss Cecilia F. Merkel, autograph signatures of John Tyler, Ambrose E. Burnside, George G. Meade, and Charles Kean.

From Miss Elizabeth Tracy Crehore, Crehore papers, 1669–1915, relating to Milton, Mass., and the family history.

From Miss Kate Jackson, of Newton, by deposit, Holman papers, Salem, 1745–1829; a diary with entries of vital records kept by Samuel Holman, 1774–1854; and a diary of David King (1704–1790), Salem, 1730–1767.

By purchase, a manuscript essay on "Old Houses," in Boston, written probably by Edmund Quincy (H. C. 1827), signed "Y. D." and dated at Boston, 1837. Following this in the same volume are five chapters, pages from the *American Monthly Magazine*, 1837, with the title "An Octogenary, fifty years since," signed also "Y. D." The book contains the autograph signature of Miss Eliza Susan Quincy, who is authority for the authorship by an Edmund Quincy.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Miss Elise Bordman Richards, a large Liverpool-ware pitcher bearing the likeness of Benjamin Franklin and on the op-

posite side the words: "Benj[n] Franklin Esq. LL.D. & F.R.S. The brave Defender of his Country Against Oppression of Taxation without Representation; Author of the Greatest Discovery in Natural Philosophy since those of Sir Isaac Newton viz. That Lightning is the same with the Electric Fire." Miss Richards also gave a card receiver made from wood of the Frigate *Constitution*.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a photograph of Dr. John Brown, author of "Rab and his Friends," with his autograph signature, and an engraving of Sebastian Cabot by S. Rawle, and other engravings.

From Thomas G. Frothingham, a photograph of his grandfather Richard Frothingham, historian, and treasurer of the Society for thirty years.

From Mrs. Otis Norcross, a five-dollar bill, Bank of the United States, Providence Branch, 1833.

From C. W. Davis, of Dorchester, a Virginia bill of fifty dollars.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a collection of eighty-three bills of Boston banks.

By exchange, 122 bills of broken banks and Confederate States money, also ten Massachusetts medals and store cards.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that the Hon. Elihu Root and himself represented the Society at the unveiling of the tablets in the Hall of Fame, New York, May 21, erected to the memory of three Massachusetts historians, Bancroft, Motley, and Parkman.

William Cameron Forbes, of Norwood, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be given to Mr. Charles Stearns for his long and faithful services, as assistant to the Librarian, of twenty-one years, since July, 1899.

The VICE-PRESIDENT announced the death of our associate Charles Pickering Bowditch, and said:

Charles Pickering Bowditch, born in West Roxbury, September 30, 1842, graduated at Harvard College in the Class of 1863, was elected a Resident Member of this Society on November 9, 1899, and died on June 1, 1921.

He was present often at meetings in the last nine years, and occasionally at earlier meetings, so that his average attendance was more than one-half of the number during his whole membership. His interest in the Society was further shown through his gifts from time to time of valuable manuscripts,

broadsides, and medals, and the deposit in behalf of his niece of the bronze casts of the life mask and hands of Abraham Lincoln. Among his communications were documents relating to Negro Seamen in the South in 1842 and '43, to slavery, and to the fight between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon;* and on several occasions he entered into the discussions at the meetings. The Society aided him in reproducing by photostat a number of MSS. in the native languages of Mexico and Central America, being part of an extensive series which he reproduced for the Peabody Museum in Harvard University, and which will stand as his chief contribution among many to the study of American archæology.

Mr. STOREY then said:

Charles Pickering Bowditch was a Massachusetts citizen of the finest type, and the vigorous stocks from which he drew his blood lost in him nothing of their strength, but rather gained added distinction from the generation of which he was an active member. He was a pillar of the state, a man on whom his fellow-citizens leaned and to whom they turned for service requiring probity, vigor, and judgment. By profession a trustee, he was placed in charge of many estates, and was the adviser and comforter of many who relied upon his counsel. He was a director of many business corporations, such as the Boston and Providence Railroad Company, the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company and various manufacturing companies upon whose boards were found only men of character and established reputation for wisdom. When the American Bell Telephone Company was formed and began its work of revolutionizing communication between men by introducing in a field already fully occupied a new invention of amazing possibilities, he was called to its councils and as director and vice-president was a powerful factor in helping it to meet the many difficulties which it encountered, and to surmount them triumphantly. Through the interests which he represented and by his influence as a director in so many corporations, he contributed largely to the proper conduct of business in Boston during the many active years of his life, and had he done nothing else he would have gained high respect and regard from the best in this com-

munity. This, however, was by no means the only field in which he won honor.

Entering Harvard in the class of 1863, and receiving his degree with his classmates, he left Cambridge before his Commencement and was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Fifty-Fifth Massachusetts Regiment in May 1863. Before the end of June he had been promoted to be a captain in that regiment. This was one of the first colored regiments, and it was then a question whether the colored troops would make good soldiers. Our late President, Mr. Adams, expressed the feeling of many when in writing to his brother he said: "As to being made soldiers, they are more harm than good. It will be years before they can be made to stand before their old masters . . . It won't pay and the idea of arming the blacks as soldiers must be abandoned." Bowditch faced the risks, which were serious in view of the attitude adopted by the Confederates towards colored troops and their officers, and continued to serve in the Fifty-Fifth and afterward as captain in the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry, also a colored regiment, until he was discharged for disability contracted in the service.

Mr. Adams, always open-minded, lived to change his views and to ride through Richmond after its surrender at the head of the very colored cavalry regiment in which Bowditch had been a captain and which Adams then commanded. The interest in the negroes' future, which led Bowditch to render this service endured to the end and was shown by many generous contributions in aid of the education and uplift of the race.

While he never held or sought political office, he took a keen interest in public affairs and was always ready to support good government. When the prevailing corruption in politics led to the formation of the Commonwealth Club with Judge Hoar as its President and Richard Olney as a Vice-President, he was one of its early members, and when the nomination of Mr. Blaine split the Republican party he was among the first to join the Committee of one hundred that was formed to oppose Mr. Blaine's election, and was active in its work, giving freely of his time and his money. He always helped the cause of Civil Service Reform and in a word was one on whom the friends of good objects could always count.

His active mind, backed by great physical vigor, led him in many directions. He took an especial interest in archæology and ethnology and not only read and wrote much on archæological subjects, but conducted personal researches in Yucatan, seeking the relics of the Maya civilization. He published the results of his studies in several pamphlets, the titles of which indicate into what detail he pushed his inquiries, for we find one entitled "Memoranda on the Maya Calendars used in the Books of Chilan Balam" and another which discusses the question "Was the Beginning Day of the Maya month numbered Zero (or Twenty) or One?" He was the President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and took an active interest in its work. He made important contributions to the Peabody Museum, and the list of societies devoted to various branches of learning of which he was a member proves the catholicity of his interest.

He had moreover a distinct taste for lighter literature, and has left in the library of this society evidence of his standing among the poets of his time, which makes it the more surprising that, conservative in many respects as he was, he came to advocate the theory that Bacon wrote "Hamlet" and "Macbeth" as well as the other works of the same author. He travelled much in Europe, Asia, and in North America, and extended his journeys to Northern Africa. In short he found life full of varied interests and opportunities for usefulness and pleasure, and he rejoiced to use them freely.

He was a man of great courage, high principle, unbending integrity, and strong character. His views on most questions were decided and he was ready to maintain them, rather enjoying than shrinking from discussion. He was impetuous of speech, and at times may have seemed dogmatic, especially to opponents of like temper, but he was a kindly, warm-hearted, affectionate man who to the end retained to an unusual degree the spirit of a boy, keenly enjoying the humorous side of life and the pleasures of cultivated society, to which he always contributed his full share. He was happy in his marriage and in his family, and his life was spent in an atmosphere of affection and refinement which maintained the best traditions of New England. The community which has known him, relied upon him and looked up to him for so many years, and the intimate

friends who have loved him will feel his loss deeply, even though they may be glad that the end came while life was still pleasant and he had not known the sadness of decay. We may say of him what the Psalmist teaches us to consider the crown of a life well lived, "The end of that man is peace."

Mr. MORISON read a paper on

THE CUSTOM-HOUSE RECORDS IN MASSACHUSETTS, AS A SOURCE OF HISTORY

Last year, in communicating to the Society an account of the industrial development of Massachusetts between 1815 and 1840, I took occasion to comment upon the neglect of this field by historians, the lack of proper histories of manufacturing towns, or of our older manufacturing corporations, which could easily be written from their records. For the past year, my efforts have been directed toward throwing some light on the maritime history of Massachusetts, the story of her fisheries and sea-borne commerce from the Revolution to the Civil War. In this field, I have found a similar lack of preparatory work, and on most aspects of it have had to undertake original research myself in order to produce anything of value.

The source material for this maritime history falls into three main classes:

(1) The newspapers, including journals which specialized in commerce, like the Boston *Price Current* (1795–98), *Russell's Gazette* (1798–1800), *Boston Gazette* (1800–15), *Commercial Gazette* (1817–35), *P. P. F. Degrand's Boston Weekly Report* (1819–27), and *Boston Shipping List and Price Current* (1843–82).[1] But these record only the maritime activities of Boston. Few newspapers were published in the smaller seaports of Massachusetts, and such as there were, gave little information on maritime affairs beside entrances and clearances.[2]

[1] For bibliography of these journals, and their various titles, see Clarence S. Brigham's "Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820," in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, n. s., XV, part I (April, 1915). The best file of the Degrand paper is in the Boston Athenæum; the only complete file of the Shipping List is in the Boston Marine Museum at the Old State House.

[2] Exception should be made of the Salem *Gazette*, for the Federalist period, the New Bedford *Whalemen's Shipping List*, which began publication in 1843, and earlier New Bedford papers.

(2) Ms. records of merchants and shipping firms, including letter-books, accounts, and ledgers. With these might be included ships' log-books and sea journals, which were usually retained by the individuals who made them. Our Society, the Essex Institute, the Beverly Historical Society, the Harvard College Library, and the New Bedford Public Library all contain valuable collections of this class of material; but the greater part of it is still in private hands, subject to loss or destruction either by fire, or — sad to relate — by deliberate act of the descendants of our great merchants. In my paper in last October's *Proceedings*, on Boston's trade with the Hawaiian Islands, I used the Suter, the Marshall, the Hunnewell, and the Bryant and Sturgis MSS., all of this class.

(3) The records of our federal and state courts, and probate records. This class of material I have barely touched, but can see from Sprague's *Reports* of cases before the United States District Court at Boston, that it must contain information of great value, resulting from lawsuits and other controversies. The records of the federal courts at Boston, when last I dipped into them, were tucked away in a corner of the Boston Post-Office building.

(4) The Custom-house records, which I have found the most important existing source for commerce, fishing, shipping and shipbuilding, since 1789. Yet they seem almost completely to have escaped the attentions of historians.[1] Nowhere else can so nearly complete a record of the maritime activities of a given customs district be obtained. The "Impost Books," or "Abstracts of Duties," list every vessel arriving from foreign ports, with cargo, consignees, and duties paid. The clearance papers do the same for exports. The coastwise manifests and drawback books enable one to trace the distribution of these cargoes, and the methods of neutral trading in Napoleonic times. Half an hour's study of the "Abstract of Drawbacks" at the Plymouth custom house threw more

[1] Almost the only printed works or articles that show any evidence of the author making use of this class of material are Osgood and Batchelder, *History of Salem;* Benjamin L. Lindsey, *Old Marblehead Sea Captains and the Ships in which they Sailed* (Marblehead Historical Society, 1915); Edmund Pomeroy Collier, *Deep Sea Captains of Cohasset* (privately printed), A. Frank Hitchings and Stephen W. Phillips, *Ship Registers of Salem and Beverly* (Essex Institute, 1906), and Alexander Starbuck, *History of the American Whale Fishery* (1878).

light on what actually went on, in the troublous years of 1805–07, than all my previous study of laws, statistics, British Orders in Council, and Napoleonic decrees. The crew lists show how our vessels were manned, and might well interest the genealogist and sociologist as well as the historian. The collectors' letter books contain much incidental information of value. The bounty lists give in accurate detail the statistics of our codfisheries, and the registry, enrollment and license books preserve the names, dimensions, descriptions, and ownership of the vessels that made the name of Massachusetts famous in every part of the world, as well as the humbler but no less necessary coasters and fishermen.

Such custom-house records as I have examined, with the exception of those in Salem, bear witness to the neglect and dilapidation that are the common lot of government archives in the United States. There is no reason to suppose that the archives of customs districts in other states are in any better state of preservation. In only a few of the greater seaports does the federal government possess a fireproof building with adequate storage space, and facilities for investigators. Many of the smaller customs districts have been suppressed, and their records destroyed or dispersed. As the movement of concentration in the larger seaports continues, it is likely that other districts will be suppressed in the future. The care of such archives seems a legitimate duty of local and state historical societies. I hope that these brief notes may serve to call the attention of such organizations to this important but neglected class of historical source-material at their very doors. For, although the maritime history of Massachusetts, by reason of our Commonwealth's pre-eminence in codfishing, whaling, and shipbuilding, is more rich and varied than that of any other state, Massachusetts is by no means the only state or section with a maritime history worth recounting. The Maine coast, a nursery of seamen and small craft; Narragansett Bay, the home of pirates, smugglers, and slave traders; Long Island Sound, with its dozens of small whaling and trading ports; New York, the greatest American seaport since 1789 for volume and value of deep-sea commerce; Delaware Bay; Chesapeake Bay, where the famous clipper type originated; Charleston, long the leading place for cotton export and her rivals Mobile and Pensa-

cola; New Orleans, once the only gateway to the Mississippi Valley; and the great seaports of the Pacific Coast; all have a distinctive maritime history which must be studied in detail before much-needed histories of American shipbuilding and commerce can be written.

There follows a rough inventory of the custom-house records in Massachusetts, by customs districts.

NEWBURYPORT. The records of this district, which included all ports on the Merrimac River, were turned over, on its suppression, to the Historical Society of Old Newbury, which stores them in its wooden building on High Street, Newburyport, open only in the summer months.[1] They appear to be reasonably complete, both as to bound books and loose papers.

GLOUCESTER. Not having investigated the records of this port, I shall quote from a report on them by the present Deputy Collector, communicated to me by Mr. E. Perry, special deputy collector of the Port of Boston, who has aided my search in many ways:

> The records at this office that may be readily consulted go back to the eighteen forties, fifties, sixties, etc., as indicated by the following two or three examples: Import book 1832; Warehouse ledger 1867; Daily record of money 1870; Vessel admeasurement 1870; Enrolments 1830; Registers 1846.
>
> Earlier records have been put into boxes, without regard to kind, and carried to the attic and have collected dust for many years. From among the latter there were taken some years ago all records that would give evidence for "French Claims" and sent to Washington, and have not been returned. Without some days of sorting very dusty records it is now almost impossible to tell just what is left in the attic.

BEVERLY. Beverly was combined with Salem as a port of registry and entry in 1789, and her records after that date are

[1] Typical of the attitude of the educated public historian toward custom-house records is the report of the Secretary of this society, in its *List of Officers, Reports*, etc., for 1912–13. After recording this important acquisition, she remarks "the local field was so assiduously culitvated by our real historians . . . that the ground has become a bit exhausted." Yet the story of the fishing, commerce, and shipbuilding of Newburyport, once the third seaport in the Commonwealth, remains to be written!

in the Salem custom house. But the Beverly Historical Society possesses what is probably a unique set of customs records for the period 1780–89, when the customs service was under the state government. These records have been carefully mounted and bound, and are preserved in a fireproof safe in the old Cabot mansion, the home of the Beverly Historical Society. They are open to investigators, by appointment, in the summer months.

SALEM. Luckily the recent newspaper rumor of the burning of the Salem custom house was false. The records of the port of Salem and Beverly are intact, and open to investigators. In bulk and in value, they are by far the most important in Massachusetts. Yet they have been very little used. Numerous books have been written about Salem commerce and shipping, but the writers have largely confined themselves to the materials in the Essex Institute, and in private hands. No time should be lost before making a comprehensive investigation of Salem's maritime activities, from these primary sources, for the custom-house is not fireproof, and is in the neighborhood of highly inflammable buildings.

MARBLEHEAD. This port also possesses custom-house records in an excellent state of preservation, in the new and fire-proof postoffice building. They have been used only for compiling a list of Marblehead shipmasters. Nothing has been written about Marblehead's extensive commerce with the West Indies, South America, Africa, Europe, and the Far East between the Revolution and 1830. Indeed, Roads's *History of Marblehead* gives the impression that fishing was the only maritime activity of that port after 1775.

When the customs office was transferred to the new building, a mass of records for which there was no room, was disposed of to dealers. A part has found its way into the Essex Institute, Salem.

BOSTON. Almost all the customs records of our greatest seaport were destroyed by fire in 1893. The exceptions are some of the collectors' letter-books (among which H. A. S. Dearborn's, during the War of 1812, is interesting), and the registries of vessels. These are now accessible on the fifth floor of the custom house; excepting the registries for 1789–1802, which were sent to Washington some years ago to aid in determining the

French spoliation claims,[1] Boston has the indexes for this period, giving names, tonnage, and ownership of vessels, but not their dimensions or builders. A recent request to the Department of Commerce, Washington, for details on such famous Boston ships as the *Columbia*, received the reply that a fire the *previous evening* had damaged or destroyed many of the records, and the Department was unable to say whether the Boston registries were saved or not.

For the colonial period, some of the records of the Royal Commissioners of Customs, whose headquarters were at Boston, are in the cabinet of this society, forming a part of the Temple-Bowdoin papers. In the collector's office at the Boston custom house is a vellum-bound letter-book of the last royal collector. This volume was discovered some years ago doing duty as hotel register at "Ye Ferncroft Inn." It had also been used as an account-book in a Salem shop. When excavating for records in the basement of the Plymouth custom house, I there discovered two volumes of colonial records of the port of Boston. The one recorded over a thousand entries in the year 1773, from other ports in the Province of Massachusetts-Bay. The other, which had also been used for subsequent Plymouth records, contained a list of clearances from Boston for Great Britain, in 1773–74.

Plymouth. I found that all loose papers for the period before the Civil War have been destroyed, but that all bound books were transferred to the new quarters in the post-office building. There being no place for them in the one room at the Collector's disposal, they are stacked up in a corner of the cellar, without order or arrangement. I managed to excavate most of the older books, and found in them most interesting and valuable material for the activities of this once busy seaport. Of Plymouth's many historians, not one appears to have shown the slightest interest in, or even knowledge of, these important records.

Barnstable. According to the best available information at the Boston custom house, the records of this district, which included the whole of Cape Cod, were forwarded to the New

[1] Correspondence with the Departments of the Treasury and of Commerce at Washington failed to elicit any information on the present whereabouts of these books of ship registers.

Bedford custom house when the district was suppressed, several years ago. The Boston custom house, however, contains an interesting record of ship registries of this district, from 1801 through 1809, in the handwriting of Joseph Otis, collector of the port at that period. A number of early circular letters from the Secretaries of the Treasury, and some fragments of correspondence, are preserved in the same place. The bulk of the Barnstable records would be a most valuable source for the fishing industry of Cape Cod. All fishing vessels had to be enrolled or licensed at the custom house, and for bounty-granting purposes a complete record of their crews, voyages, and catches had to be kept.

NEW BEDFORD. The following note from the Deputy Collector to the Special Deputy Collector of Boston, is the only information I have regarding the records of this district, which included Fairhaven and most of the western side of Buzzard's Bay:

"In reply to your letter of the 26 ultimo with regard to the records of this Office I have to inform you that they do not go back to 1789 a great part of the records having been destroyed by a fire which occurred sometime previous to 1837."

A study of these records would probably throw considerable light on the distribution of whaling products, an aspect of the whaling industry which has been neglected by the many writers on that subject. They have already been utilized in the preparation of Starbuck's *Whale Fishery*.

NANTUCKET. A note from the Curator and Librarian of the Nantucket Historical Association informs me that when this customs district was suppressed, its records were sent to New Bedford. A part, however, found their way to the Boston custom house. Here may be consulted four interesting volumes containing lists of the crews of Nantucket whalers from 1818 to 1835, when Nantucket whaling was at its height. The Nantucket Registry of Vessels for 1856–64, and several bundles of vessels' enrolments and licenses, are kept in the same place.

EDGARTOWN. The records of this customs district, which included Martha's Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands, are now in the Boston custom house. They include registries, etc., of vessels, and crew lists from 1819; and entries from 1847. Although this district had no great commerce of its own, Vineyard Haven was a favorite port of refuge for vessels approach-

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Ward Chipman

From a portrait by Gilbert Stuart

ing Boston or New York from South America and the far East, as well as for coasting craft. As all vessels remaining forty-eight hours in a port were obliged to enter at the custom house, the Edgartown records are of considerable importance for the movement of shipping.

Mr. EDWARD GRAY presented a paper on

WARD CHIPMAN, LOYALIST.

Ward Chipman, "Chip" as his friends called him, was the son of Hon. John Chipman and Elizabeth Brown. His grandfather, Rev. John Chipman, graduated at Harvard in 1711, and was, for many years, pastor of the Second Church at Beverly; his son, Hon. John Chipman, graduated at Harvard in 1738, was a lawyer and lived at Marblehead; he died, in 1768, of a stroke of apoplexy, while arguing a case before the Superior Court at Falmouth, now Portland, Maine. Hon. John Chipman married Elizabeth Brown, daughter of Rev. John Brown of Haverhill and Joanna Cotton, a great-granddaughter of Rev. John Cotton of Boston. Their fifth child, Ward, was born at Marblehead on July 30, 1754, and graduated at Harvard in 1770, where his social position placed him sixth in a class of thirty-four students. While he was attending college his father died, and the following letter, written to Jonathan Sewall in August, 1775, explains his intimacy with the Sewall family, which undoubtedly proved a deciding factor in determining which side he should take in the issue that was fast approaching:

August 2, 1775.

. . . . . .

I had the misfortune to lose a kind Father, when my academical education was scarce half compleated; my prospects were then truly distressing. Unable to remain at College, too young to undertake any business, unwilling to descend to the lowest offices of life, I knew not how to turn nor where to look. I had no claim to the support of my friends, it was not in my power to provide for myself; my friends assisted me but my expences, though sparingly incurred, exceeded their munificence. At that critical time I experienced an instance of your friendship in your generous contribution and the collection you made from the other Gentlemen of the Bar, which raised me from a very disagreeable situation to ease and temporary inde-

pendence. I was thereby enabled to answer the demands made upon me and finish my studies with credit.

My inclinations were early turned to the study and practice of law; my circumstances forbad the hope of prosecuting a plan of this kind and obliged me to think of another way of life far from agreeable. You then unsolicited sought out my difficulties and at once removed them and without the least prospect of compensation undertook my maintenance and instruction. I have ever found in you an assiduity to benefit, help and instruct me equal to which many children never experienced from their own Parents, greater none. Sure I am that had my own Father lived it would not have been in his power to provide so well for me. I have and ever shall feel an attachment to your family as strong and real as that which arises from the ties of natural affection.

I am fully sensible of the disinterested benevolence which must have actuated your conduct, and it is now become a duty I owe to you as well as to myself to labor to deserve it. . . . I am not unmindful of the inconveniences to which you have submitted by receiving me into your family. The trifling advantage I have been to your children I could wish had been greater. What they have reaped is to be attributed more to their own docility than any labors of mine. If however your intended removal to Halifax takes place, I will gladly attend to their instruction till that time if agreeable.

With you I have passed the happiest part of my life, and it is with great reluctance that I think of removing. . . .

This week I became of age — this week I am entering upon a new course of life. The wide world is now before me, my cares and concerns will increase with my years. You have discovered yourself to be a father and a friend to me. I hope my behaviour has not been such as to forfeit your esteem and that I may not hereafter prove unworthy of it. Every possible opportunity to serve you I shall gladly improve and in every instance in my power, command me. It will for the present be impossible for me to make any compensation to you for your kind assistance and support. As my abilities will admit I shall be mindful of my obligations and endeavour in some measure to discharge them, though I could wish you would now receive some legal acknowledgement of them which may be security in case of accident or misfortune. . . .[1]

Some years later, he was able in some measure to repay this kindness, when Mr. Sewall's two sons, Jonathan and Stephen, studied law in his office.

[1] *The New Brunswick Magazine*, III. 183.

As the above letter shows, after leaving college, he studied law in the office of Jonathan Sewall, Attorney General of Massachusetts, and lived in his family, and in September, 1774, he was active in assisting in the defence of Judge Sewall's house at Cambridge, when it was violently attacked by a mob. Compelled to flee to the protection of the King's troops at Boston, he took up the practice of law there, and was employed in the office of Daniel Leonard. He was one of the eighteen "Gentlemen who were driven from their Habitations in the Country to the Town of Boston" who signed a loyal address to Governor Gage on his departure from that town on October 14, 1775. Remaining in Boston during the siege, he suffered all the hardships due to lack of food and fuel, but continued to practise his profession, and was also clerk solicitor in the custom house, which position he held at the time of the evacuation of the town by the British in March, 1776. He went to Halifax with the King's troops and from thence to England, where Thomas Hutchinson writes under June 12, 1776: "Lt. Gov. Oliver, Col° Hatch, and George Erving, M^r. Chipman, etc., called upon me: all from Halifax." [1]

Before leaving Massachusetts, he assigned what property he had to his mother and sisters who remained behind, and later, during the period when he was stationed at New York, he managed to transmit to them money toward their support.

In less than a year, the state of inactivity in England on a pension began to pall upon him. He relinquished his pension and joined the King's troops at New York, where he was appointed Deputy Muster Master General of His Majesty's Provincial Forces, in 1777, by Sir William Howe, and was employed in the practice of the Court of Admiralty. He received five shillings per day for his services as Deputy Muster Master General, in 1777,[2] and held this position until the close of the war.

The British must have felt very secure in their position on Long Island, and neglected to post guards, or else their opponents were kept very well informed and were extremely enter-

[1] *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson*, II. 66.

[2] *Winslow Papers*, 1776-1826, 18. The index to this volume does not refer to many letters to and from Ward Chipman, and possibly the same may be true in regard to the letters of other people.

prising, as Chipman's letters of this period contain frequent mention of raids made in his vicinity by the Continental troops, in one of which he and some others escaped capture by mere chance. To quote Edward Winslow:

June 22nd, 1788.

. . . . . .

On my return from Philadelphia I removed my quarters from the Valley of Hadad to the house where Gen'l Howe's Head Quarters were, in New Utrecht Town. On the 13th inst. about 12 at night a party of rebels (supposed to be about 25) landed directly below my house, marched up the street, reconnoitered and as we imagine satisfy'd themselves that I was at home, but as their principal object was Flat Bush and an alarm might be the consequence of an attempt on me, they passed on to the houses of Major Moncreiffe and Mr. Bache, both of whom they made prisoners and carried off. They also attacked the Mayor's house near Flat-Bush Church, but he luckily heard 'em early enough to take possession of his garret to which there was no entrance but a trap door. A musket fired in the town just at the time alarmed 'em and induced 'em to desist. On their return a small party were detached from their road, which was about 200 yards from my house. Most happily I had a number of my friends about me. Daniel Murray, Mr. Upham, Parson Panton, Mr. Chipman and myself were very socially sitting round my table with the windows open. Whether our appearance was too formidable or whether they suspected from our being up at so late an hour that we were ready for 'em — or what was the cause, God knows, the fact is that they civilly omitted calling and until 8 o'clock in the morning I did not hear or suspect that anything of the kind had or could have happened. You may imagine that a small effusion of gratitude succeeded the intelligence. Not a single charge of powder or ball had I in my house. It is perhaps the most extraordinary circumstance that ever took place. A party of men to land in a clear evening, pass five miles in a public road by a great number of houses, enter a town, take two of the principal inhabitants and return and embark unmolested — is not it a pleasant telling story!" . . .[1]

In another letter he says: "Guess if I did not feel desperate queerly. The Mayor saved himself by a trap door. Chip is determined to cut one at my house and I suppose the example will be followed by the neighbors, so that whenever there 's an

[1] *Winslow Papers*, 28.

alarm all the Inhabitants will be bobbing up and down like Coons and Neo in 'Nid & Nod'." [1]

At this period Ward Chipman seems to have been too apt to jump at conclusions, and too sanguine in giving credit to vague reports without making sure whether their source was reliable or not, and, in one instance, this failing led him to report in New York that he had seen the French fleet off Sandy Hook, when in reality it was a squadron of the British fleet.[2]

In 1782, his income amounted to near £500 per annum, but he did not manage to save anything and Jonathan Sewell [3] writes him:

BRISTOL, April 22, 1782.

You tell me your income is near £500 per annum and yet you lay up nothing. Permit my friendship to suggest that at your time of life you ought out of that sum to be laying up something. I know the unbounded generosity of your disposition, but believe me the most generous when at the top of the hill of life do not always look back with complacency and self-approbation. Prudent economy is a virtue which takes rank above profuse generosity. . . . Look around us as far as your acquaintance with mankind extends and you will find estates have been saved rather than gotten. . . .[4]

Towards the end of the war he realized it would probably be impossible for him to stay in the United States and he wrote Edward Winslow, who was on the St. John River:

July 29th, 1783.

It's now next to a certainty almost that we shall be all away from here this fall; I cannot yet determine which way to steer, much will depend upon the intelligence I receive from you and your advice. Should Sir Guy [Carleton] go to Nova Scotia I shall inevitably go there too, or if I am like to forfeit any considerable advantage by not being there this winter I certainly will go. Few, very few, will remain here. Nova Scotia is the rage, petitions are daily going in from very respectable people to the Commander in Chief for lands, etc. Blowers with his family mean to embark in the course of the next month for Halifax, and I think it very probable your father and family will go with him. Your mother is arrived and in health and spirits as indeed they all are.

[1] *Winslow Papers*, 30. [2] *Ib.*, 32.
[3] From about this date this name is spelt Sewell.
[4] *Winslow Papers*, 76.

Keep a look out for me with respect to lands if you can and let me know what is to be done on my part. To have as many strings to my Bow as I could I have signed a petition with Col. Willard and others to the Com'r in Chief.[1] My anxiety increases every day, all business being at an end, I find myself running behindhand very fast every day, for my d—d mode of living is as expensive as ever. . . .[2]

A few days later he wrote to Winslow: "I signed the Petition but have since found several names upon the list which do not comport with my ideas of the business at all. I shall of course decline any further concern in the matter, relying upon your having it in your power to provide much better for me in your arrangements than can be done in any other way."[3]

It was probably between the receipt of news that peace had been signed, and November 25, 1783, when the British evacuated New York, that he made a visit to Salem and Newport,[4] but he made his headquarters with the army at New York until the evacuation took place, of which event he wrote Edward Winslow as follows:

ON BOARD THE "TRYAL" OFF STATEN ISLAND,

Nov'r. 29th, 1783.

MY DEAR WINSLOW, — I have already written to you previous to the Evacuation of New York, but have received when ashore today at Staten Island your letters of the 9th and 15_ inst., for which I thank you very much. I have been a witness to the mortifying scene of giving up the City of New York to the American Troops. About 12 o'clock on Tuesday the 25th inst., all our Troops were paraded on the wide ground before the Provost, where they remained till the Americans about 1 o'clock marched in thro' Queen-Street and Wall-Street to the Broad-way, when they wheeled off to the hay-wharf and embarked immediately and fell down to Staten Island. I walked out and saw the American Troops under General

[1] He thus became one of what are known as the "Fifty-five" petitioners for lands in Nova Scotia. They claimed that they were justly entitled to the same allowance as field officers, i.e., 5,000 acres each, in consideration of their special services and the importance of their former positions in society. The other Loyalists at New York naturally resented any such claim for special consideration, and in consequence of their protests the scheme fell through.

[2] *Winslow Papers*, 111.

[3] *Ib.*, 115.

[4] He kept a diary of this visit, from which Mr. George Champlin Mason quotes in *Reminiscences of Newport*, 250, 369. At present this diary cannot be found.

Knox march in, and was one of the last on shore in the City; it really occasioned most painful sensations and I tho't Sir Guy, who was upon parade, looked unusually dejected. The particular account of the business of the day you will find in the news-papers which I have enclosed to Blowers. I have passed two days since in the City to which I returned upon finding all was peace and quiet. A more shabby ungentleman-like looking crew than the new Inhabitants are I never saw, tho' I met with no insult or molestation. The Council for sixty days, which is invested with supreme authority for that term, is sitting; what will be determined by them is uncertain, many are apprehensive of violent and severe measures against individuals. I paid my respects to Generals Knox and Jackson, the latter is Commandant of the City; they received me very politely. I had the satisfaction also of seeing General Washington, who is really a good looking genteel fellow. Scarce any of our friends or any man of respectability remains at New York, they are principally embarked for England. I am now on board ship for the voyage. We have a good set — Col. Drummond who is very civil, friendly and polite to me; Fred Philips, who is as good a fellow as ever (I wish you had mentioned him particularly in your letter for he really loves you); Gilfillan whose facetious character you know, a Mr. Sinclair in the civil branch of ordnance, Capt. Reid and two subalterns of the Royal Artillery, 8 in all and I assure you we make ourselves very cheerful. We expect to sail by Tuesday next.

My prospects in going to England are upon the whole as favorable as I expected. I have as I mentioned to you, the whole business of the board of claims committed to my management, and I am not a little pleased to find that Harrison, who resigned his seat at the board some time before we left New York, obtained a warrant from Com'r in Chief for 20s stg. per day for the time he belonged to it. I think I shall be able to plead this precedent when I have finished the business. Sir Guy has given me a letter of introduction and recommendation to Lord North. Thompson, who means to pass the winter upon the Continent of Europe, writes me he has left a very particular recommendation and introduction for me to Lord Sackville, so that upon the whole I live in hopes of going to Halifax next year with a bold face. I consider the present by far the most important period of my life, and am determined to exert every faculty to get myself forward. I shall most anxiously expect the letter you promise me by Gen'l F[ox.] I have been explicit, be you so also in communicating your views, hopes and prospects. I need not repeat to you that your welfare and happiness is equally dear to me as my own; my principal anxiety is for us to get together again with some chosen friends and I think we should be happy in a desert.

I immediately communicated your letters and enclosures relative to Cochran and Little Weeks to Mr. Watson and Major Upham. Coffin this day tells me the business is satisfactorily settled for both. Greet Mr. Weeks for me and in my name, he is a worthy good Fellow and I both love and esteem him.

I intreat you my dear Ned let me know by every opportunity how you are and what is going forward in Nova Scotia. I shall not lose sight of that as my determined place of resort and shall of course be very anxious to know all the particulars about the settlements, locations, etc., etc.

To Tom Coffin, indisputably the very best fellow in the world, and to Townsend who really loves you and speaks most affectionately of you I refer for all further particulars both of a public and private nature. Adieu, my dear Fellow, you shall hear from me the moment I arrive in England. God bless you with all good and make you as happy as you desire and deserve, prays most fervently and sincerely, your unalterably devoted

and faithful friend,
CHIP.

To Father, Mother and Sisters, say that Chip thinks, dreams and speaks of them perpetually with the warmest friendship and affection.[1]

The business of the Board of Claims which he refers to was in connection with a commission, which had been appointed to receive claims for supplies furnished to the Government, of which commission he was secretary; as the work had not been completed at the time of the evacuation of New York, he went to England to finish it.

At this period Edward Winslow must have found him a delightful companion, as he addresses him as: "My dear, gentle, pleasant tempered, amiable Friend,"[2] and there are several references to his singing, of which Edward Winslow, the father, wrote: "I have been at two Balls and one concert. At the concert was exceedingly good musick vocal and instrumental, there appeared to be nothing wanting to make it compleat but your voice to have been added to the same; altho' there was a Gent that sang extremely well, I can truly say I had much rather hear you than him, there is something so sprightly in your Singing that affords me more pleasure than almost any

[1] *Winslow Papers*, 152. [2] *Ib.*, 138.

other person." [1] His portrait, painted much later in life, by Gilbert Stuart, shows a man about sixty years old, almost entirely bald except for a fringe of sandy hair over the ears, with a plump face and a ruddy complexion, greyish blue eyes and a very good-natured expression.

On his arrival in England, his business affairs did not progress as fast as he had hoped they would, and after about two months he summed up his experiences as follows:

London, March 7th, 1784.

My dear Winslow, — Your letter by Gen'l Fox gave me infinite pleasure; that your situation with him was so pleasant and his friendship so effectually secured are circumstances peculiarly fortunate and agreeable in themselves and I doubt not will hereafter be productive of the most solid advantages. I have attended him almost every day since his arrival and have been of some little service to him in a few trifling instances. The material change in the ministry must have deranged his business and views as much as of all the rest of us. There is not a doubt, he informs me, but there would have been a separate Government at St. John's had Lord North remained in office, and he candidly confessed he should like to have had the Government. The present administration, even if convinced of the propriety of the measure, dare not adopt it; their continuance in office is so uncertain that they will undertake no business but what turns up in the common routine of office every day. You may easily imagine how disappointed I was upon my arrival to find in what a distracted state this Country was. All my views and prospects in coming to England vanished at once — at least were totally suspended for the present. Sir Guy Carleton went into the Country, my letter to Lord North became of no avail, I could receive no directions with respect to the business of the Board of Claims, and I have been waiting here in London till this day expecting a change in the ministry and some permanent administration to be formed to which I may make an application with respect to my business, for I will not yet despair. Should Fox come in again I think you and I might revive our expectations and hopes and yet see the objects we have so much at heart accomplished. Until this happens or some permanent ministry is appointed, we shall not be able to stir to any purpose in the business of a separate government. . . .[2]

[1] *Winslow Papers*, 135. [2] *Ib.*, 167.

LONDON, 13th March, 1784.

DEAR WINSLOW, — Things begin to wear a much more favorable aspect respecting Nova Scotia. The present ministry begin to find their situation more stable and permanent. Your representations by Mongan have had their effect. A committee of the Council has been sitting on the business two or three days, Sir Guy Carleton has been sent for and is come to Town to give his advice and assistance in the business. Col. Willard, Dr. Seabury, and Major Upham, as Agents for the Loyalists, have presented a memorial stating all the grievances complained of. Lord Sydney has said "Nova Scotia shall be made the envy of all the American States."

I am authorized to say, in confidence, there is no doubt a separate Government at St. John's will be established, and that all your wishes will be carried into effect. Odell, who is with Sir Guy, whispers this to me for your information and desires a most friendly and affectionate remembrance to you. . . . Take care of our Lands, they must now become very valuable. . . .[1]

What is now New Brunswick was at this period a part of Nova Scotia, and the Loyalists, who had taken up land on the St. John River, were endeavoring to have it set off into a separate government. The name originally suggested for this new province was New Ireland,[2] possibly because there was a New England and a Nova Scotia, but eventually, it was called New Brunswick, in honor of the royal family.

Ward Chipman applied for the office of Attorney General of this new province and wrote Edward Winslow:

LONDON, 6th June, 1784.

This or something else I must obtain immediately, my stock is nearly exhausted, and I have totally failed in all my pursuits and prospects in coming to England. Most heartily regret that I did not go immediately to Halifax from New York. Of all countries in the world this is the worst to be in without a great deal of money and even then has not half the rational social enjoyments and pleasures that our own Country affords, or rather of an American Society such as we have been used to. . . .[3]

The office of Attorney General was given to Jonathan Bliss, who, curiously enough, did not know to whose influence he was indebted for it, and only learnt of his appointment on reading in the Court Register that Samuel Bliss had been appointed

[1] *Winslow Papers*, 170. [2] *Ib.*, 174. [3] *Ib.*, 209.

Attorney General for New Brunswick. On writing the Colonial Office he found out that he was the man meant.[1] A letter written by Ward Chipman may possibly explain this appointment:

LONDON, 9th July, 1784.

. . . . . .

I confess for myself I am not a little disappointed with respect to the office of Att'y General, tho' Bliss is certainly a very good Fellow, but as he was receiving a pension of £150 per ann. this is saved to Government by appointing him. There will be no salary to the Solicitor General, at least none that will be equivalent to my half pay. I shall therefore depend upon my practice for support. . . . I have failed altogether in my expectations from the Board of Claims, the business of which remains unnoticed to this moment. I have expended nearly all my money, and am heartily sick of this country. We shall at least have a good society and live chearfully in our new Government if we are poor. Won't my half-pay Agency pursuit come to something in time? . . .[2]

He was appointed Solicitor General, and sailed for New Brunswick with Thomas Carleton, Governor of the new province, in September, 1784. On his arrival, he decided to settle at St. John, and was admitted to the Bar in February, 1785. Jonathan Sewell, Jr. wrote his father on June 30, 1785: "Mr. Chipman has at length opened his office in this city, and I am happy to inform you has as great a share of business as any practitioner in St. John. Our office hours are from eight in the morning till three in the afternoon; from this time I have the day to myself. . . ."[3] Benjamin Marston, writing from St. John in February, 1785, gives us a glimpse of some festivities which took place during his stay there:

Last Wednesday we exhibited at the Hall, under the auspices of General Chippy, a monstrous great Ball and fine supper to about 36 Gentlemen and Ladies such as Governours, Secretaries, Chief Justices, Chancellors and such kind of people with their wives and daughters. We ate, drank, danced, and played cards till about 4 o'clock in the morning. We had everything for supper. It is difficult to conceive how his Gen'lship could collect such a variety of luxurious viands together in such a place as this.[4]

[1] *Judges of New Brunswick*, by Joseph Wilson Lawrence, 155.
[2] *Winslow Papers*, 214.
[3] *Judges of New Brunswick*, 175.
[4] *Winslow Papers*, 269.

The charter of the city of St. John was prepared by Ward Chipman, and it was at his suggestion that the city was called St. John, instead of St. John's. He was appointed first city recorder in May, 1785, and at the first election to the House of Assembly, held the following winter, he was among the government candidates returned from St. John. After a fiercely contested election, during the course of which a riot occurred in the city, which the soldiers of the garrison had to quell, the opposition candidates won by a small majority, but they neglected to attend the scrutiny which followed, and defend their votes, and a sufficient number were thrown out by the sheriff to give the election to the government candidates.[1]

During the preceding summer Jonathan Sewell, Jr. had written: "Mr. Chipman's marriage is, I believe, undoubtedly fixed; he will, I suppose, be married before the winter, as he does not deny now he is courting. Mr. Hazen and his family are particularly attentive to me, more so than I could have expected;"[2] but the marriage did not take place until October 24, 1786, when Miss Elizabeth Hazen, daughter of the Hon. William Hazen, became Mrs. Chipman. Mr. Sewell, writing his father a little later, said: "I admired her before marriage, but since, I have adored; she is perfect, and calculated to make Mr. Chipman happy."[3] Their only child, Ward, later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, was born the following year.

Judging from a letter he wrote Jonathan Sewell, Jr., who

[1] For further particulars see the *Collections* of the New Brunswick Historical Society, No. 6, 1905, p. 451. The parties at St. John were known as the Upper Cove and Lower Cove, the former representing the more aristocratic element. The Upper Cove candidates were: Jonathan Bliss, Ward Chipman, Christopher Billopp, William Pagan, Stanton Hazard, and John McGeorge. Ward Chipman wrote Edward Winslow on January 4, 1786: "The house met yesterday, only 13 in all, just enough to make a house. Owing to the stupidity of the Lower Cove Candidates in not attending the scrutiny and defending their votes the Sheriff has returned us, but our seats are to be contested by vehement petition." *Winslow Papers*, 323. Dr. James Hannay in his *History of New Brunswick*, I. 155, writes: "The Whole number of votes thus struck off appears to have been eighty-two. . . . No reason was offered for this wholesale proceeding, and the voters were given no opportunity of justifying their votes, which, apparently, were perfectly good. . . . The blame for it (this extremely discreditable transaction) must justly rest on Attorney General Bliss and Solicitor General Chipman, men learned in the law, who profited by it. Sheriff Oliver, no doubt, acted under their instructions." Dr. Hannay neglects to prove his statements.

[2] *Judges of New Brunswick*, 175. [3] *Ib.*, 178.

after his admission to the bar had removed to Quebec, Ward Chipman did not have enough business to keep him busy, in spite of the fact that he had one of the best law practices in New Brunswick.

St. John, N. B., 29th October, 1792.

Dear Jonathan, — Your letter of 7th July afforded me great pleasure. Your success has been without a parallel in America, and has laid a sure and solid foundation of independence at an early period of life. I am not alarmed by the load of business which is upon your shoulders, as the more business you do and have to do, the more you will be able to do, and perhaps with less fatigue than you would do one-fourth part of it when you might be idle half your time. It is laughable enough for me who never had any method to be preaching to you who do everything by rule. Alas, *Video meliora proboque deteriora sequor.* This, however, is principally because I never yet had business enough to employ me half my time, and this to one of my indolent turn will be a perpetual source of procrastination; while I was a student I could apply myself without intermission, since that I have scarce had business enough to stimulate me to retain what little I then learnt. When my business was lucrative, which was at New York, great fees were received for very little, and without the smallest variety in the objects.[1]

At the general election held in 1793, Mr. Chipman lost his seat in the House of Assembly from St. John; his defeat was largely due to his advocacy of Fredericton as the site for the capital of the province, instead of St. John.[2] He was elected, however, as a representative from the county of Northumberland.[3] The reasons for finally selecting Fredericton as the seat of government were, because it was not open to attack from the sea, and also, because being situated some ways inland, it would induce settlers to move up the river and thus help settle the interior of the province. Of this election he wrote to Sewell:

Fredericton, N. B., 23rd February, 1793.

My dear Jonathan, — Here I am once more, to my great mortification, a legislator. The Governor wished me very much I should be in the House again. I offered myself in the city, but Lower Covers, headed by Hardy, were uppermost, and I was distanced by him. I put up in York, but too late, the bulk of the

[1] *Judges of New Brunswick*, 182.
[2] *Winslow Papers*, 398.
[3] *Ib.*, 398.

voters were engaged. I had, however, every respectable one on my side. A party was sent off without my knowledge to Miramichi, where I came in all hollow, without the faintest opposition. My object from the beginning was to get the Speaker's chair, or I would never have become a candidate. A majority of the members are quite under the influence of St. John politicians, so that I find I can be of no service to the public, and most cordially wish I was clear of them, and, like Bliss, enjoying my own fireside. I continue jogging on in the old way; business is as low as ever, and it is with great difficulty I can bring the year about with all my resources. As the country gets on, I think it must become better; this is the only ground of consolation I have. My gout grows less troublesome, one moderate attack in the year is now my quantum. Little Chip is, I assure you, a very fine boy; he is yet but five and a half years old, and has been twice through his accidence — all his own choice, as he is at liberty to go to school or stay at home. Mrs. Chipman is well and speaks of you often with great affection. Adieu, my Dear Jonathan,

WARD CHIPMAN.[1]

In 1796, at the suggestion of Jonathan Sewell, Jr., he applied to the British Government for the office of Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and wrote:

ST. JOHN, N. B., 10th April, 1796.

MY DEAR SEWELL, — Accept my kind thanks for letters. I was much agitated at perusing their contents, and knew not for some time what steps to take. I had no hesitation about an application for office of Chief Justice of Upper Canada; if I could suppose there was the smallest chance of success, and even without that I have made use of what interest I have in England, which indeed is very small, being no more than the supposed inclination of Mr. Knox, the agent of this province in London, to serve me. To him I have stated all my pretentions and wishes to succeed to that office, but without any other hope than that a bold step may hold me up for something hereafter, in case an opportunity should offer. I have said nothing to him about a Puisne Judgeship, as I have many doubts from all I can learn of the climate, society and living in Upper Canada, and from a consideration of the sacrifices I must make, and inconveniences submit to by removal, whether it would, upon the whole, be eligible. I have consulted your father, who is delighted with the idea of accompanying me to Canada, in case I could obtain

[1] *Judges of New Brunswick*, 186.

the office of Chief Justice. He peremptorily decides against the idea of accepting a Puisne Judgeship. I will not, I cannot believe that after all my services and the sacrifices for the public, and the exertions I am disposed to make, if there should be an opportunity, that I must linger out a life of mortification and disappointment without a competence for present subsistence or a prospect against any unseen accident. I remain, Ever your friend,

WARD CHIPMAN.[1]

This application was unsuccessful, but, about this time, he was chosen counsel on behalf of the Crown in connection with the boundary dispute between New Brunswick and the state of Maine, James Sullivan, Attorney General of Massachusetts, being counsel on behalf of the United States. The Treaty of Peace of 1783 had named the St. Croix River as the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick, but discussion had arisen as to what river was the St. Croix of the treaty; the United States claimed it was the Magaguadavic, and Great Britain that it was the Scoudiac. The Treaty of 1794 referred the matter to commissioners. Mr. Chipman wrote in this connection:

ST. JOHN, N. B., 10 Jan., 1797.

MY DEAR SEWELL, — The Commissioners are to meet in Boston on the second Tuesday in August, when Mrs. Chipman and little Chip will accompany me there. While on this subject, let me say, that I feel very anxious respecting the duties of my present appointment. I am left alone to conduct the business on the part of the British Government against a host of adversaries, Mr. Sullivan, Attorney General of Massachusetts, the American agent, being assisted by a committee of the council and senate of that state, and the best law counsel. Mr. Sullivan's pay as agent is £1,000 sterling per annum. Everything depends upon demonstrating, which I think may be done, that the River Scoudiac, which we claim as the true St. Croix, was originally so named by De Monts in 1604. I have sent to England and all parts of the United States for Champlain, etc., etc. Can you not find some works in Canada that you can buy or borrow for me? Yours faithfully,

WARD CHIPMAN.[2]

Despite the facts which he mentions in this letter, he demonstrated so conclusively that the Scoudiac was the St. Croix of

[1] *Judges of New Brunswick*, 189. [2] *Ib.*, 193.

the treaty of 1783, that he won his case, and the British claims were allowed.[1] He wrote Mr. Sewell: "The question to be decided by the commissioners is a very simple one; but in the course of investigation and discussion of it, the argument has branched out into a very wide field. I hope that you one day may see it, and have patience and curiosity enough to support you in the perusal of it. I claim no other merit than industry; and when I look back, I wonder how I have been able to collect so much on the subject." [2] Various other matters in connection with the boundary kept the commission in being for two years and nine months, and Mr. Chipman received £960 sterling a year for his services as agent for the British government.

Edward Winslow was appointed secretary of this commission, and not long after his appointment wrote a letter to Jonathan Sewell which gives a rather gloomy picture of his friends fourteen years after their settlement in New Brunswick:

[1] Judge Egbert Benson, one of the American Commissioners, giving his reasons for his decision in favor of the British claims, stated: "The River St. Croix, contemplated by the Treaty, was undoubtedly that so-called in the grant to Sir William Alexander, and in all subsequent acts of Great Britain, and the St. Croix intended by the grant of 1621 to Alexander could not possibly have been any other than that described by Champlain and Lescarbot, the only authors prior to 1621 who had ever mentioned that river." Albert Gallatin wrote: "The British agent demonstrated beyond contradiction that Bone Island (near St. Andrews), a few miles from the mouth of the Scoudiac, was the island of the St. Croix, so-called by De Monts, and on which he had a temporary settlement in 1604–5, and the same which in 1607 was visited by Lescarbot; and also that the river Scoudiac, particularly described by Champlain, who accompanied De Monts, was the same river, first called by Champlain Etchemin River, and afterwards St. Croix." *Judges of New Brunswick*, 195. Dr. Hannay's version is as follows: "The arguments put forward by the agents for the respective countries, were long and laborious, but the ultimate decision was not based on these ponderous terms filled with special pleading. No doubt the agents did as well as was to be expected of men who were mere lawyers, and had no special knowledge of the history of the settlement of Acadia and New England, or of the boundary disputes that had arisen between France and England at that early period. The name St. Croix had been given to the river in 1604, by Champlain when he established a colony of Frenchmen on an island in the St. Croix. Champlain published in his book a plan of this island, showing not only its shape and size, but the locality of all the buildings upon it. The foundations of these buildings still remained in the year 1797, when they were dug up by Thomas Wright, a surveyor, and this evidence, which could not be impeached, settled the matter in favor of the British claim." *History of New Brunswick*, I. 267.

[2] *Judges of New Brunswick*, 194.

KINGSCLEAR, 14 Jan'y, 1797.

Your letter, my dear Sewell, found me a cripple with the gout in my right arm, which prevented me sooner acknowledging it.

Chipman (I dare say) has wrote you on the subject of our new engagements in the commission for locating the River St. Croix of the Treaty of 1783. You know the cordial friendship between us, and you will conclude that the connexion must render the duty perfectly pleasant.

The office of secretary is not what I originally aimed for. If I had been chosen Umpire I should have acted under every possible restraint. For the duties of the office of secretary I feel myself every way equal; I fear no reflection and will in no degree be responsible for the consequence which may attend the decision. It will be laborious, perhaps not lucrative. One advantage must result both to Chipman and myself: it has taken us from the dreamy path which both of us have been imperceptibly sliding into — obscurity and despair. During the first bustle here we combatted difficulties with alacrity, and we submitted to inconveniences without murmuring. As soon as this was over and the eagerness of expectation had subsided, we saw the whole society sinking into a sort of lethargy. Those who had salaries made their calculations to eat, drink and vegetate to the exact amount of their incomes. Those who had none were saved all the trouble of estimates for they could get nothing either to eat or drink. I belong (nearly) to the latter class. I found myself loaded with titles — overwhelmed with honors, but with little money. I was the proprietor of a tract of land "beautifully situated upon a navigable river and covered with prodigious fine timber." But the river glided by without material advantage to me, for I could not buy a Boat, and the trees might have stood to eternity for I had hardly credit for an axe. I have dashed at every opening, but a wife, ten children, and the gout have held me fast. Chipman was not quite so badly off: he had saved a little cash, so that he did not feel the weight so soon, but when it fairly rested on his shoulders down he dropped, and it would have grinded the heart of a man of sensibility to have watched his countenance for the last two or three years. The late appointment has revived — nay has regenerated him. It may not be of long continuance, and in a pecuniary view possibly will not be very beneficial, but it is an honourable mark of confidence, and it has brought him into a field where he may exert his talents. The vigor of his mind is unabated and he is industrious almost beyond example. I presume he will secure so much credit to himself by his correct management of this important business that it will lead to something which may render the remainder of his days comfortable.

For myself I cannot anticipate any substantial benefits from the employment, and yet I am highly gratified at it. I am almost ready to exclaim like General Ruggles' Indian, when his friends were preparing the last offices for him: "My dear Brothers, you shan't bury me yet!" [1]

To judge from a letter written in 1800, the practice of law was not very remunerative in the early years of the Province, for although Ward Chipman handled most of the important cases in New Brunswick, he had hard work to make both ends meet, and wrote:

ST. JOHN, N. B., 18th July, 1800.

MY DEAR SEWELL, — The Journal of one year would serve to depict my situation every year since you left, with the exception of the time I was employed in my late public agency. Business has, if possible, decreased, and more frequently than otherwise I find myself in debt at the end of the year. I have indulged a hope that my exertions in my late public employments would entitle me to some further attention from the government, but of this I begin to despair. It is not, however, my disposition to despond; my health is fortunately better than it used to be, having by strict regimen and exercise greatly lessened my gouty complaint, and I shall one of these days, if my prospects are not better, boldly dash to try my fortune in some other line, or some other country. Mrs. Chipman and Chip enjoy their health, the latter has grown a stout boy, now 13 years old, and must soon determine what line of life to pursue. I have a brother-in-law at Salem, Mr. Gray,[2] a merchant in great business, who wishes to take him, and were it not for a reluctance at being separated from him, I should not think it an ineligible way of disposing of him. He is at present all I wish him to be. . . .[3]

Mr. and Mrs. Chipman made a visit to the Grays in 1804, when their son was at Harvard College, and Ward Chipman wrote from Medford:

MEDFORD, 11 Aug't, 1804.

MY DEAR WINSLOW, — Your several letters have reached me and claim my best thanks; everything in your quarter is interesting to me and becomes daily more and more so, as the remainder of my pilgrimage must be with you. . . . We pass our time as pleasantly

[1] *Winslow Papers*, 709.
[2] William Gray married Elizabeth Chipman.
[3] *Judges of New Brunswick*, 197.

as I expected, but I shall not be sorry when the period proposed for our visit shall have expired — such sameness of amusement, idleness and expense, fatigues and becomes insipid after so long an experience of the calm pleasures of our comparatively solitary life in New Brunswick. . . .[1]

The next year, he made an unsuccessful application for the position of British Consul at Boston, and the following letter, written in connection with this subject, is interesting as it shows his loyalty to Great Britain:

St. John, N. B., 22nd April, 1805.

My dear Sewell, — Business of every kind is at a standstill here, and it is with great difficulty I have been able to jog on with the strictest economy. Could I have bettered my situation by a removal, I should long ere this have done it, and I am still upon the lookout. My friends have urged me very much to return to the States, but I cannot think of it, but in the character of a British subject. Upon the death of the British Consul, at Boston, the other day, I intimated my wishes to our good friend, Mr. Coffin, now in London, to succeed to this office; but the applications will be numerous and too powerful for me to contend with. I therefore place no reliance upon anything from that quarter. Fortunately my health is much mended; it is now two years since I had any, but a slight return, of gout. Mrs. Chipman also enjoys her health, and desires to be remembered with me to Mrs. Sewell and yourself. Our boy, at Harvard, takes his degree next August. The accounts I receive of him are satisfactory. He is very tall and stout, and has a reputation of being the best scholar in his class. . . .[2]

On learning of the death of Daniel Bliss, Governor Carleton, in 1806, recommended Ward Chipman for the vacant seat[3] in the Provincial Council, to which he was duly appointed, and that autumn, when a second vacancy occurred on the Bench of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, consequent on the death of Judge Allen, he wrote: "In the present instance there happens to be a Gentleman at the Bar, possessed of superior talents, who has been Solicitor General since the foundation of the Court and who it would be an act of injustice to pass over."[4] Edward Winslow, though not a lawyer, was appointed to fill

[1] *Winslow Papers*, 519.
[2] *Judges of New Brunswick*, 200.
[3] *Winslow Papers*, 547.
[4] *Collections* of the New Brunswick Historical Society, No. 6, 1905, p. 478.

the vacancy; in thanking the Earl of Sheffield for his appointment, he wrote: "The Solicitor General (Mr. Chipman) wrote me in the most pointed terms while I was in England, "that in case of a vacancy on the Bench he would not wish to succeed to it," and I communicated his letter to Governor Carleton then at Bath, before I had any idea of applying for the office myself . . ."[1] The reason Ward Chipman did not care for this office seems to have been, that the salary was only £300 sterling a year. The salary of the Judges was increased in 1808, but at that time there was no vacancy on the Bench, and his income was very small, as the following letter shows:

ST. JOHN, N. B., 28th October, 1808.

MY DEAR SEWELL, — If something does not turn up here for my relief, I see not how I am to remain; business is at a lower ebb than ever. My whole income does not exceed £200 per annum; and this, after thirty-four years at the Bar, is a cruel situation to remain in. It is true, that the salaries of our Judges have lately been increased — the Chief Justice to £700 sterling, and the Puisne Judges to £500 sterling per annum; but there is at present no vacancy, and even if there should be one, little chance of succeeding to it, when men without any professional education, as in the late instance of our friend Winslow, are thrust into it. Upham is now in England, and has been in so ill health that our friend, T. A. Coffin, has advised me to send a memorial, on the contingency of his death, which the President, General Hunter, has very kindly forwarded with recommendatory letters to the Secretary of State; but after so many disappointments as I have experienced in life, I depend upon nothing, and am ready for almost any change. . . .[2]

Both Chief Justice Ludlow and Judge Upham died that fall, and though Ward Chipman was unsuccessful in his application for the vacant seat of the Chief Justice, he was appointed a Puisne Judge. The members of the Supreme Court of New Brunswick, as now constituted, were as follows: Chief Justice, Jonathan Bliss, Puisne Judges, John Saunders, Edward Winslow and Ward Chipman. Upon receipt of the news of his appointment, he wrote Judge Winslow a letter which shows that his practice must have increased since he wrote Mr. Sewell:

[1] *Winslow Papers*, 587.

[2] *Judges of New Brunswick*, 201.

St. John, 2d June, 1809.

My dear Winslow, —Altho' my situation in point of income will not for the present be bettered by my appointment to the Bench, yet upon the whole I am satisfied with it as I consider it as a permanent provision for life, and a relief from the corroding and unpleasant cares and business of a profession in which there is so little satisfaction in this country. The new Chief Justice will I presume make his arrangements as soon as he conveniently can for a removal to Fredericton. I conceive it absolutely necessary that there should be one Judge in the City and this will of course be my post. . . .[1]

Judge Winslow, writing to his son, made the following comments on the new appointments: "My situation is rendered much more eligible by the introduction of Mr. Bliss and Mr. Chipman on the Bench. Mr. Bliss (the Chief Justice) has purchas'd Lyman's house, and I dare say will make a pleasant addition to our Society. Chipman will remain at St. John (of course), he is perfectly reconciled to this arrangement. Indeed I think it's better for him than if he had been Chief Justice for then he must have removed to Fredericton."[2]

Under the terms of Articles IV and V of the Treaty of Ghent, signed December 24, 1814, a commission was to be appointed to determine to which country the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay belonged, also to determine the point lying due North from the source of the St. Croix River, and designated in the former treaty as the Northwest Angle of Nova Scotia, and that part of the boundary line, between the dominions of the two Powers, between the source of the St. Croix River and the intersection of the Iroquois River, as the upper stretch of the St. Lawrence was designated, by the 45th degree of North latitude. Judge Chipman applied for the position of agent on behalf of the Crown on this commission, and, because of his knowledge and experience gained on the earlier commission, was appointed. As he was now sixty-one years old, he asked that his son might be associated with him as agent, with full power to act jointly or separately, but without additional expense to the government; this request was granted, and the

[1] *Winslow Papers*, 637. Very few of Mr. Chipman's letters, written after this date, have been published, and I have not had the opportunity of examining his papers, many of which are either in the Canadian Archives or in the possession of Ward C. Hazen, Esq., at Moncton, N. B.

[2] *Winslow Papers*, 639.

duties involved in connection with this commission were shared by the younger Chipman.

In 1823, Judge Chipman sent a memorial to the British Government asking to be retired from the Bench on a pension, as his duties required more strength than he possessed, and he had no adequate means of support other than his salary. Shortly after he wrote this petition, Major General George Stracey Smyth, Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of New Brunswick, died, and it became the duty of the senior member of the Council to administer the government until his successor should be appointed. A meeting of the Council, at which six members were present, was held at Fredericton on April 1, 1823, and a letter from George Leonard, the senior member, was read, stating that his age and infirmities rendered it impossible for him to undertake the administration of the government, and hoping a more competent member might fill his place. The next in succession on the list of councillors, Hon. Christopher Billopp, wrote he would undertake the administration of the government, and requested a meeting of the Council at St. John as early as practicable, as he did not find it convenient to go to Fredericton. As Colonel Billopp had not attended any meetings of the Council for years, and was in his eighty-sixth year, he hardly seems to have been the man for this position. The Council was evidently of this opinion,[1] and as the King's instructions required that the person to administer the government should be sworn in at Fredericton, and the exigencies of the government admitted of no delay, it decided, unanimously, that the next member in succession on the list of Councillors, who was Ward Chipman, should assume the administration of the government. Colonel Billopp promptly wrote a letter of protest, to which Mr. Chipman replied, that the proceedings of the Council, which had been unanimously adopted, had been transmitted to England, and until an answer was received from the British Government, he would continue to discharge the duties of administrator of the government of the province. While the British Government acknowledged the right of Christopher Billopp, as senior Councillor, to the office of President and Commander-in-Chief, on

[1] My account of this incident follows that given in *Judges of New Brunswick*, 212 *et seq.*

the death of the Governor, it declined to interfere with the action of the Council in swearing in Ward Chipman as President and Commander-in-Chief,[1] and he held this position until his death, which occurred at Fredericton, on February 9, 1824, after a few days' illness.

Return of the Trumbull Papers.

In October, 1920, the Council of the Society appointed a committee, consisting of Henry Cabot Lodge, James Ford Rhodes, Arthur Lord, and Worthington Chauncey Ford, to consider the question of returning to the State of Connecticut the papers of Jonathan Trumbull, which had been in the possession of the Society since 1795. The Committee reported to the Council on January 12, 1921, and the recommendations made were accepted by it, to be reported to the Society. This report, sent to each member of the Society in January, was as follows:

The Committee appointed to consider a proposal to return the Papers of Jonathan Trumbull to the State of Connecticut reports as follows:

The papers came to the Society in the following manner: April, 1795, the Society requested Dr. Jeremy Belknap to go to Lebanon, Connecticut, "for the purpose of inspecting the papers of the late Governor Trumbull."[2] He made the journey in July, and remained at Lebanon four days. In December the "chests and boxes" of papers arrived in Boston.[3] They were arranged, listed and bound in twenty-three volumes, one of which was lost by fire in 1825. Fifty years after their receipt — in May, 1845 — the Connecticut legis-

[1] At the meeting of the Council held on April, 1, 1823, Chief Justice Saunders, Judge John Murray Bliss, Judge Ward Chipman, Samuel Denny Street, Anthony Lockwood, and George Shore were present. Dr. Hannay, in his *History of New Brunswick*, 1. 394, after condemning the proceedings of the Council, says: "Col. Billopp appealed to the Colonial office, and despatches were afterwards received from the home authorities condemning the conduct of the Council and justifying his claims to the office of administrator. These despatches were suppressed by the Council, and no mention of them is to be found on its files except incidentally." Colonel Billopp received his answer from the home authorities before February 21, 1824, when Judge John Murray Bliss became administrator (see *ib.*, 396); if the despatches mentioned were received by the Council prior to the death of Ward Chipman, it is difficult to see how he remained administrator, unless the British Government declined to interfere with the action of the Council.

[2] *Proceedings*, 1. 83.

[3] *Ib.*, 85

lature passed a resolution requesting the Governor to take such measures as might be proper and expedient to obtain possession of the papers, and in the preamble recited that

"It is understood and believed by the General Assembly now in session, that numerous official letters and valuable correspondence intimately connected with executive and legislative acts of this State, during an important and interesting period of its history, was collected by His Excellency Governor Trumbull, during his administration, and which, in the opinion of this Assembly, ought to have been deposited in the office of the Secretary of this State, but are now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and, it is proper and desirable that said documents, &c., be obtained from said Society and deposited with the Secretary of this State." [1]

On receiving this resolution the Society appointed, September, 1845, a committee, composed of the President [Mr. Savage], Josiah Quincy and Isaac P. Davis, to report. A report was presented in December, but after some discussion thereupon it was recommitted to the same committee. At the meeting of January, 1846, a new draft of a report was accepted and was sent to Connecticut. Its important features are: (1) that Governor Trumbull would not have removed from the seat of government to Lebanon papers withdrawn from the public archives of the State; (2) that the papers had remained at Lebanon for ten years after the Governor's death, "in possession of his family," and were delivered "without distinction between one part and another" to the Society in the name of the family, as a donation to the Society; (3) the papers were regarded by the Governor and by his family afterwards, "as his private property"; (4) that it had been the intention of the Governor to "preserve the collection for some public institution"; and (5) that no claim adverse to the property of the Society had been "ever supposed or thought of." On this showing, and from an examination of the papers the committee concluded that the "assumption" of the Connecticut legislature was mistaken, and it recommended that "the trust of this Society in preservation of the papers usually called the 'Trumbull Papers' be ever sacredly fulfilled." [2]

In reply the Connecticut authorities showed: that it had been the prevailing usage for public documents to remain with the holders of office and their successors [families]; that the Assembly in 1770 had appointed two agents (one of them a son of Governor Trumbull) to collect "all public and other papers relating to the affairs of this Colony which properly belonged to the Colony, in whose custody soever the same might be found, except those in the hands of his

[1] *Proceedings*, II. 322 *n.* [2] *Ib.*, II. 332 *n.*

Honor the present Governor;" and in 1771 the Assembly of Connecticut had desired the Governor [Trumbull] "to collect all the public letters and papers which may hereafter in any way affect the interests of this Colony." [1]

In May, 1846, this communication was referred to the same committee of the Society, but Mr. Davis asked to be excused, and F. C. Gray was named in his stead. A report was presented in November. It rested on "the simple fact that these papers have been in the undisputed possession of this Society for more than half a century" and this "is of itself a sufficient answer to such a claim" [as that of Connecticut]; and that the Society could not break or alter the "trust" implied in accepting the gift from the Trumbull family — "at any rate it is not for this Society to call in question the right to these papers, on the part of those from whom it thus holds them in trust." [2]

The following considerations are presented:

1. The papers are of a public character and do not contain private papers of the Trumbull family. They are such as would constitute the records of the colony and state, and the donor, David Trumbull, describes them as "the most important official papers which passed through his (the Governor's) hands."

2. They are not confined to the governorship of Trumbull, but contain papers of his predecessors in office, and no other papers of a like character are known to exist. The presumption is that they, as well as the Trumbull papers, were collected under the resolutions of the General Assembly.

3. No colony or state then understood the keeping of official papers, and the office-holder took away with him the records of his service. This was the practice in England as well as in America, and many examples may be named of private possession of public files — Blathwayt, Dinwiddie, Wentworth, Colden, Washington, Hamilton and Weare being instances.

4. No properly guarded place of deposit for such collections apparently then existed in Connecticut, and this Society offered the best at the time. The assumption that, other things being equal, Governor Trumbull would have selected a public institution outside of Connecticut is not supported by any evidence.

5. In ten years the papers have not been consulted more than half a dozen times by anyone not making a journey from Hartford to see them. They have little relation to Massachusetts history and the Society has published from them all that it ever will. They are not essential to its uses or purposes.

[1] *Proceedings*, 343 *n.* [2] *Ib.* 357 *n.*

6. These papers are not now placed where they would first be sought and their usefulness is diminished by being away from the related material.

7. In its State Library Connecticut has a building, one of the safest and best equipped in the country. There the papers will be better cared for and more conveniently used than they can be here. Thus the conditions existing at the time the papers were given to the Society have entirely changed.

Your Committee feel that the time has come when these papers can and should be returned to the State of Connecticut, in full recognition that they are properly a part of the public records of Connecticut. Such a return, made with fitting public ceremony, will be in itself a striking example of generosity and justice on the part of the Society. It will be a step in the right direction of placing collections of papers where they belong, and where the best use can be made of them.

It is understood that the suggestion concerns only the twenty-two bound volumes of "Trumbull Papers," a volume of military returns, another of letters of William Samuel Johnson to the Governor of Connecticut, and a volume of letters addressed to the Governor of Connecticut and signed by Washington, evidently a part of the Connecticut collections, and will not apply to any other collection or papers in the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

HENRY CABOT LODGE
JAMES FORD RHODES
ARTHUR LORD
WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

The Society accepted the report and referred the question of transferring the papers back to the Council, which placed the arrangements to be made in the hands of the Committee making the report. On April 21 notice was sent to the Governor of Connecticut of the action of the Society and of its readiness to give the Trumbull papers to an accredited representative of the state. On May 5 Mr. George S. Godard, State Librarian of Connecticut, came in person to the Society and formally received the manuscripts, thus completing the act of transfer. The Governor of Connecticut, Hon. Everett J. Lake, acknowledged the letter of the Society as follows:

STATE OF CONNECTICUT
Executive Chambers
Hartford, May 4th, 1921

DEAR SIR:

It is with very great appreciation and pleasure that I received a notice, given me in your letter of April 21st, of the very generous gift of the Massachusetts Historical Society to Connecticut. I have been away from my office recently and this fact explains why the letter of your honorable committee was not earlier acknowledged.

I have been much interested in reviewing the report of the committee of the Council of your Society relating to these papers of Jonathan Trumbull, and I can assure you that the thoughtful and generous spirit reflected in the report and which has led to the offer of return of these papers to Connecticut will be received by every one here in Connecticut with the appreciation and gratitude which the offer deserves.

We are proud of our new State Library and believe that its facilities for the safe preservation of old and valuable records are unexcelled, and we feel that this voluntary and valuable gift of the Massachusetts Society will tend to induce other bodies and individuals to place original documents relating to Connecticut in the library as a safe depository where such papers may be easily available and reviewed with appreciation from time to time by the people of Connecticut and elsewhere.

Let me convey to your committee and to the Society, through you, my renewed thanks on behalf of the State of Connecticut and its people for these original papers. I am taking the matter up with Mr. George S. Godard, our State Librarian, with the suggestion that he arrange with you for a means of transporting these volumes to Connecticut in a safe way and in a manner that will be acceptable to your Society.

When this has been arranged, I have in mind to act upon the very excellent suggestion made by your committee that the event of the return of these papers be marked by some fitting and appropriate ceremony for I know that the people of Connecticut will desire and approve of this method of evidencing their appreciation of the generosity of your Society in making this very valuable gift to our State.

Very truly yours,

EVERETT J. LAKE,
Governor.

Hon. Worthington C. Ford
Massachusetts Historical Society

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. FARLOW, F. R. HART, STIMSON, and THAYER.

MEMOIR

OF

EDWARD HENRY HALL

BY CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH

Edward Henry Hall was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, April 16, 1831, and died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, after a short illness resulting in pneumonia, on February 22, 1912.

He was the son of the Reverend Edward Brooks Hall, who was born in Medford, September, 1800, was graduated from Harvard College in 1820, and held parishes at Northampton, Cincinnati, and lastly at Providence, Rhode Island, from 1832 to 1866. He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College in 1848 and was one of the most distinguished Unitarian clergymen in the United States. He was the son of Nathaniel Hall, who married Joanna Cotton Brooks, a direct descendant of Joanna, the daughter of the Reverend John Cotton, the eminent assistant of the Reverend John Wilson and the perhaps too enthusiastic endorser of the extreme Calvinistic doctrines. He was, however, an earnest and eloquent preacher and a man of great learning.

Edward Henry Hall's grandfather on his mother's side was the Reverend Henry Ware the elder, Professor of Divinity at Harvard College for nearly forty years and one of the leaders of thought of his generation. Edward Henry's choice of a profession and his mental characteristics, if we believe in heredity, were apparently settled for him in his cradle. He also showed throughout his life many of the admirable qualities of his clerical ancestors, and among them his thorough scholarship, his independence in thought and action, his power as a preacher, his lofty integrity, and the courage of his convictions. He prepared for college in the Providence High School, was admitted to Harvard College in 1847, and was graduated in

Edward N. Hall

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

1851, a classmate of Dr. Samuel A. Green, with whom he retained close intimacy until his death, and also of Professor William W. Goodwin, George O. Shattuck, Augustus T. Perkins, Henry W. Haynes, Charles F. Dunbar, and Francis W. Palfrey, all fellow members of this Society. He studied at the Harvard Divinity School, and was graduated in 1855. In 1859 he was ordained the pastor of a Unitarian parish in Plymouth, Massachusetts, and served there until 1867.

In September, 1862, he volunteered for service in the Army and was elected Chaplain of the Forty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment of Volunteers and served with credit and with the affection and respect of the regiment in its various campaigns until June, 1863, when his term of service expired.

In 1869 he was called to preside over the Church of the Second Parish (Unitarian) at Worcester, Massachusetts, and remained there for thirteen years, when he accepted a call to the First Parish Church at Cambridge. His only reason for leaving the church at Worcester was because he felt strongly that no clergyman should stay more than ten years in the same parish, believing that he could not sustain the effort of preparing sermons on subjects which would have a fresh interest or be of sufficient worth to satisfy an intelligent congregation, and as a general principle perhaps he was right. What his congregation felt with regard to his resignation and the results of his service as the pastor in Worcester, are adequately described in the words of his successor, the Reverend Austin S. Garver, delivered in a Memorial Address upon the death of Mr. Hall in 1912:

> When Mr. Hall came to this Parish in 1869, at the age of thirty-seven, he was in the full maturity of his powers. He had made his youthful experiments in thought and life, if indeed there were any that can be so described, in a previous pastorate with the First Parish of Plymouth. Steeped in the finest New England traditions, gifted with a penetrating and resolute mind, trained in the best schools, and enriched by an experience of tremendous realities as Chaplain of the Forty-Fourth Massachusetts Regiment in the Civil War, he was well equipped for the difficult duties that lay before him. . . . Mr. Hall was fortunate in having a people who were accustomed to think and weigh evidence, and little by little his impressive utterance had its effect and drew men to his side in loyal and admiring support. Of this phase of his life and its success

it is sufficient to add that when at the end of thirteen years he decided to accept the invitation of the First Parish in Cambridge, he left a sorrowing church behind him: he went away in spite of the entreaties and amid the tears of all, old and young.

In 1882 he accepted a call to the First Parish Church of Cambridge (Unitarian) as successor to the Reverend Francis G. Peabody, where he served to the entire satisfaction of his congregation until 1893, when he resigned. As a mark of the affection and respect of the people of that Parish, a room in the Parish House has been reserved and is still kept as a memorial of his ministration, and in it are preserved his books, letters, and other relics and an excellent portrait.

One of his closest friends, the Rev. James de Normandie, described his characteristics in these words:

> Hall combined the rare qualities of a very radical thinker in theology and an unbiassed critic, with great devotion and reverence for the essentials in religion. He worked "without haste and without rest" and always held himself to the highest ideals of public and private life and no one could be more severe against everything which seemed to him to have the least departure from truthfulness and honor. . . .
>
> Of great refinement and sensitiveness, he could ill bear any coarseness or sensationalism or charlatanism, or any departure from the exact line of honor, in scholarship or in life. Never was one who had a wider sympathy or a deeper interest or a broader fellowship with those who cherished fine ideals. He gave the impression of one who lived on the heights. He had a rare union of gentleness and strength. He was a rare example of culture, refinement, scholarship, and spiritualmindedness so marked among the early leaders of Unitarianism in New England.

He published the following theological works: *Orthodoxy and Heresy in the Christian Church; Lessons on the Life of St. Paul; Papias and his Contemporaries; Paul the Apostle,* and various discourses and essays on church history and articles in the church publications, distinguished for their accuracy and thoroughness and their breadth of vision.

He was elected a member of this Society in December, 1899, and was often present at its meetings and took part in its proceedings. He served on several committees and was a member of the Council, 1907–1909. He prepared a memoir of

Charles F. Dunbar and read a paper on Civil War Pensions in 1909, a subject in which he was deeply interested and which he felt was a lasting disgrace to his country. He was also a member of the Colonial Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Massachusetts Reform Club, the American Antiquarian Society, the American Unitarian Society, the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, the Worcester Art Society, and the Worcester School Company.

After his resignation of his Cambridge parish he spent the remaining years of his life in a quiet and dignified leisure, in extensive travels in Europe, in chosen studies, and in the companionship of a large circle of close friends. He occasionally preached and officiated at marriages and funerals of his former parishioners. He also delivered a series of lectures on the Christian Doctrines in the Harvard Divinity School in 1899–1900.

Another of his old friends describes his life in retirement:

> His manner was always a little formal in the old-fashioned way, so that some thought him cold and unsympathetic, but they were never those who knew him well. His sympathies were quick and deep and tender, too deep for easy expression, but inexhaustible in their practical personal application. His preaching was open to the same criticism of formality and coldness, but it was marked by clearness of thought and directness of purpose. . . . Though he never married he always kept up a household of his own, exercising an abundant hospitality, surrounding himself with young people and entering into their interests with singular understanding. He was very fond of children and each year gave them a party on the birthday of a favorite collie dog, and they understood him and were devoted to him.

Perhaps the condensed description of his career by President Eliot when the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by Harvard College in 1902 is a fair expression of his life and character: "An Army Chaplain in the Civil War, pastor, preacher, candid student of early Christian History, independent and outspoken citizen."

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